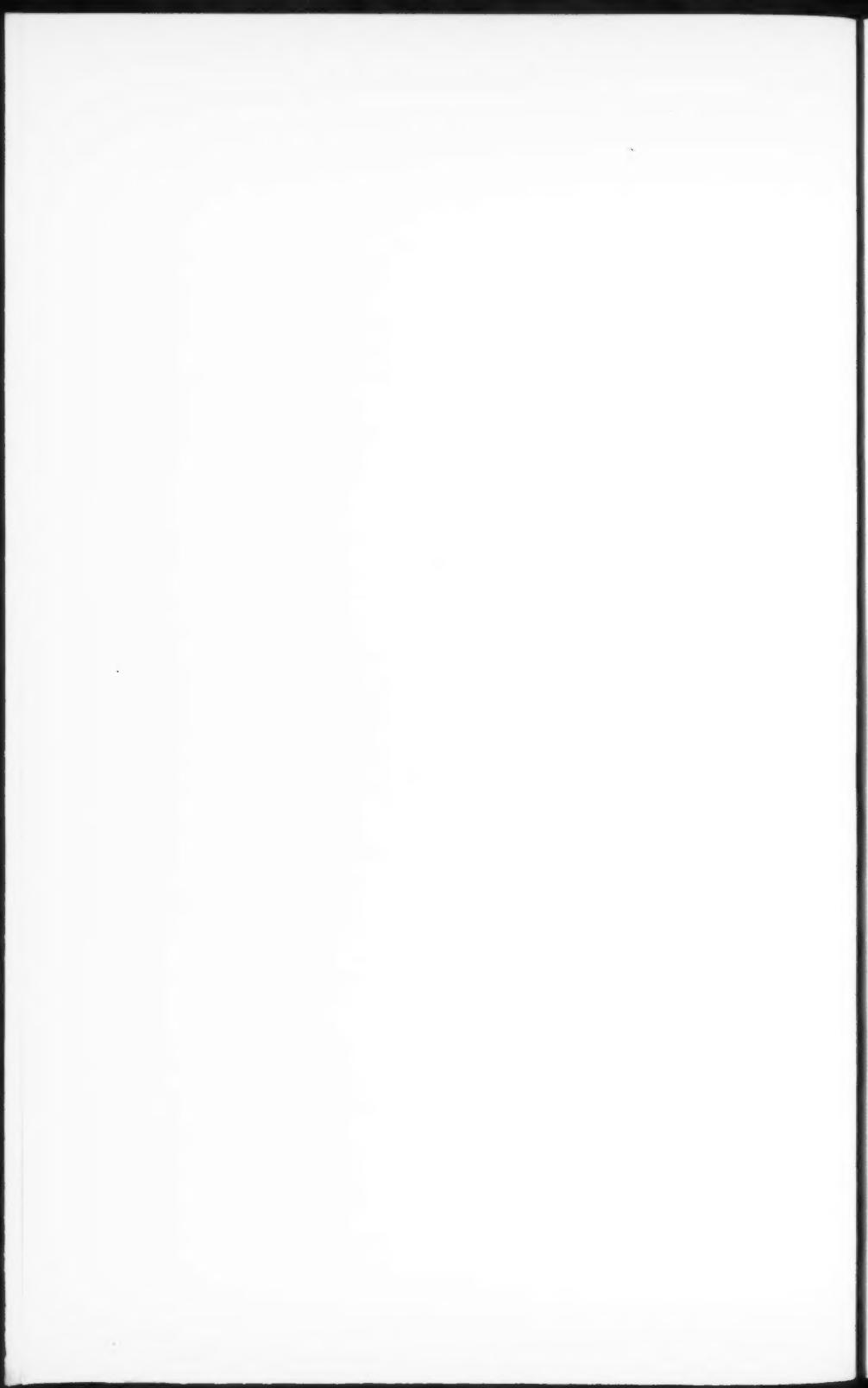


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THE ODE STRUCTURE OF COVENTRY PATMORE.

The "Odes" of Coventry Patmore are so well known to students of metres and to the lovers of what is called the mystic quality in poetry, that they may be considered in the interest of both with unfailing profit. They owe much of their essence to St. Teresa and to St. John, and all that attracts the lovers of the science of poetic form to the force of this essence exerted to find adequate expression. It may be said that the practice adopted by Mr. Patmore is, like the later musical forms of Wagner, not a sign of regular progress, but a vagary, or a mere diversion from the regular track of progress. For instance, what apparently answers in music to verbal rhyme is easily discovered in the scores of Haydn and Mozart; the absence of this is noticeable in Beethoven and Wagner. In verse the continual rhyme, accompanied by the regular cæsura, is a distinguishing characteristic of Pope and Scott;—Patmore accepts the rhyme and the cæsura, but, in his noblest poems, uses them irregularly, or rather spontaneously by making the pause depend on feeling and the rhyme on the emphasis of accent. The practice of Patmore is a sign of a finer conception of the clothing of poetry. Whether the changes in the musical forms be more than a vagary, I am not enough of a musician to know, but as to metres, I believe that Patmore's variations from classical English verse form indicate that the

poetry of the twentieth century will achieve the expression of subtler meanings than the poetry of any preceding era. The change in Patmore's methods is evident only in the poems which to the refined sense of the world are beginning to be "great."

In these poems he feels rather than knows that finish and tone melody and harmony may be best reached by minimizing rhyme, which is often used "to cover a multitude of sins of harmony." In writing unrhymed verse, "the poet has to depend upon the melodious movement of the individual verses, pause-melody, and the general harmony of toning." Students, theoretical and practical, of the science and art of verse know that it requires all the forces of a poet to sustain himself without rhyme,—"which to the unskillful is often a veritable life-preserver, and the only power which keeps much unpoetical stuff afloat."¹

There is a prejudice against the "domestic" poetry of Coventry Patmore in that class of minds which cannot tolerate even Wordsworth when he aims for simplicity and achieves simpleness. And yet there are many who love "The Angel in the House," and who find no fault with the jingling rhymes of "The Rosy Bosom'd Hours,"—the story of a wedding journey :

- " At Dawlish, 'mid the pools of brine,
 You stept from rock to rock,
 One hand quick tightening upon mine,
 One holding up your frock.
- " On starfish and on weeds alone
 You seemed intent to be,
 Flashed those great gleams of hope unknown
 From you, or from the sea ?
- " Ne'er came before, ah, when again
 Shall come two days like these,
 Such quick delight within the brain,
 Within the heart such peace ?
- " I thought, indeed, by magic chance,
 A third from heaven to win,
 But as, at dusk, we reached Penzance,
 A drizzling rain set in."

¹ Dr. Corson : Primer of English Verse. Ginn & Co.

There are some, too, not appalled by the close of "The Girl of All Periods":

"And Ben began to talk with her, the rather
 Because he found out that he knew her father,
 Sir Francis Applegarth, of Fenny Compton,
 And danced once with her sister, Maud, at Brompton;
 And then he stared until he quite confused her,
 More pleased with her than I, who but excused her;
 And, when she got out, he, with sheepish glances,
 Said he'd stop, too, and call on old Sir Francis."

In justice, however, to the admirers of this sort of poetry, let us quote Mr. Aubrey de Vere:

"Of the longer poems which attempt exclusively to describe the finer emotions of modern society, the most original and most artistic is Mr. Coventry Patmore's 'Angel in the House,' a poem," he adds, "which is better than a thousand *a priori* arguments in favor of the school to which it belongs. Others, instead of representing have caricatured modern life. They seem to have forgotten that the railway whistle and the smoke of the factory chimney are but accidents of our age, as powder and patch were accidents of the preceding one, and that the true life of the nineteenth century must lie deeper."¹

In spite of Aubrey de Vere, one of the most acute and just of critics, it is difficult to enjoy a poem of realism without an ever-present fear that the tea-cups may fall or the piles of bread and butter come down suddenly. Tennyson's realism is so enameled that there seems to be less danger of breaking its surface; he gives it such a pastoral character that it is as unartificial as an idyll of Theocritus and as elegant as a scene done by Watteau. The late Lord Lytton in "Lucile" escaped simpleness by becoming romantic. This, Patmore does not attempt; he goes on, with his recurrent rhymes, chronicling, with an audacity that is dazzling, the every-day affairs of life in a place where nothing ever happens. Miss Austen, in her most domestic novels, was not more realistic, and Crabbe's verses are tumultuous compared with his; but here, while confessing myself as of those who have prejudices,—not perhaps founded on principles,—against "The Angel in the House," let me quote Aubrey de Vere again when he speaks

¹ Essays, Literary and Ethical. By Aubrey de Vere, LL. D. Macmillan & Co.

of certain poets,—“ With some the fancy acquires a daintiness which loses the fine in the superfine, and can only condescend to touch the honest realities of nature through the intercession of a white kid glove. Hence love is treated as if we live in a moonlight world, and were too delicate to bear sunshine. The converse evil has yet more debased the literature of many periods, especially in that diseased school which, under the guise of celebrating passion, sings in reality the blind triumph of animal instincts thinly veiled. From these blemishes Mr. Patmore's work is entirely free.”

These verses of domestic life may be delightful poems of the highest value; they are popular, and a thousand times above Mr. Tupper's “Proverbial Philosophy,” which was also popular,—more popular indeed than anything written by Mr. Patmore. It would be absurd to make popularity the test of merit. And as to the structure, of these verses, which produces as monotonous an effect as the perpetual couplet rhymes of Pope, Mr. Patmore might offer in extenuation his “Night and Sleep,” one of the most exquisitely musical poems in our language :

“ How strange at night to wake,
And watch while others sleep,
Till sight and hearing ache
For objects that may keep
The awful inner sense
Unroused, lest it should mark
The life that haunts the emptiness
And horror of the dark ! ”

How strange at night the bay
Of dogs, how wild the note
Of cocks that scream for day,
In homesteads far remote ;
How strange and wild to hear
The old and crumbling tower,
Amid the darkness, suddenly
Take tongue and speak the hour ! ”

Although the music of “Night and Sleep” is not dependent upon the rhyme, it is plain,—as the form of poetry appeals to the ear,—that the rhyme is a gain; and yet one does not miss it in the fifth and seventh line of each stanza. The real musical charm of the poem,—only two stanzas, of four, are given here,—lies in the management of the rhythm. “We

have only to *fill up* the measure in every line as well as in the seventh, in order to change this verse from the slowest and most mournful to the most rapid and most high-spirited of all English, the common eight-syllable quatrain," says Mr. Patmore in his "Essay on English Metrical Law," "a measure particularly recommended by the early critics, and continually chosen by poets in all times for erotic poetry on account of its joyous air. The reason of this unusual rapidity of movement is the unusual character of the eight-syllable verse as acatalectic, almost all other kinds of verse being catalectic on at least one syllable, implying a final pause of corresponding duration."

Mr. Patmore here shows that the rhyme in this lovely "Night and Sleep" is merely accessory, a lightly played accompaniment to a song that would be as beautiful a song without it, yet gaining a certain accent through this accompaniment, and that the real questions in all verse are of rhythm and of time. Tennyson, whose technique, even in the use of sibilants, will bear the closest scrutiny, often proves the merely accessory value of rhyme, but in no instance more fully than in—

"Tears, idle tears, I know not what they mean;
Tears from the depth of some divine despair
Rise in the heart and gather in the eyes,
In looking on the happy autumn fields,
And thinking of the days that are no more."¹

This is an exquisite lyric. Until science analyzes more deeply the finest links that form the most elusive chains of harmony, and inspiration seizes the result of this analysis, there can be no more exquisite lyric. It sings itself; rhyme would be superfluous, and no musical setting by a composer has hitherto succeeded in anything except in making the ear attuned to verbal music regret that it should not have been let alone. To add elaborate notes to this lyric is like permeating lilies of the valley with analine dye. It needs no rhyme. So true is this that the hearer does not notice the lack of rhyme until his attention is called to it. If rhyme is only an accompaniment to the form of poetry, not an essential part of

¹ The Princess.

that form, it might be well to inquire as to how far association is responsible for the impressions which rhythm gives us,—for if rhyme is dismissed we must use rhythm and time as bases for the structure of verse-forms. We all know that by a change of ictus the solemn Welsh national air or the “Grosser Gott” may be turned into a veritably jolly lilt. And so, as Mr. Patmore says, his “Night and Sleep” can be made a bacchanalian chorus by another use of accent and silence. But if we consider rhythm as a fixed quantity capable of conveying definite impressions, we have only to turn to the “Heathen Chinee” to find that Bret Harte has, without changing an accent, appropriated one of the most solemnly harmonious of Swinburne’s measures in the “Atalanta in Calydon.” It is a far cry from the “Heathen Chinee” to the finest of all Swinburne’s masterly experiments in metres; but it is an example of an adaptation of dignity to the antic mood,—and yet the sweep of sound in the hymn in praise of Atalanta is not recalled by the quaint complaint of the victim of the bland Chinese. It is a parody, but the hearer does not find it out until an accident or a remark by a previous discoverer informs him of it. It probably would have remained unheeded had not Mr. Bret Harte confessed his guilt. The student of “Atalanta in Calydon” is haunted by the resemblance, after it has been pointed out; but to most of us the “Heathen Chinee” could not have appeared in a more natural or spontaneous form. It is not the incongruity of the medium with the thought that strikes us, for the *naïveté* of Bret Harte’s hero never was on sea or land; it is plainly artificial; the meaning and the expression have become one, and, by a process similar to that of Rudyard Kipling, the author of the “Heathen Chinee” has added to our language a new humorous verse-form which, though stolen without detection, cannot be re-appropriated without instant discovery.

The rhythm of—

“Not with cleaving of shields
And their clash in thine ear
Where the lord of fough fields.
Breaketh spearhaft from spear,
Thou art broken, our lord, thou art broken,
With travail and labor and fear.”

becomes, without change of accent, the chant of Bret Harte's injured innocent.

"Which is why I remark,
And my language is plain,
That for ways that are dark,
And for tricks that are vain,
The heathen Chinee is peculiar,
Which the same I am free to maintain.

"In the scene that ensued
I did not take a hand ;
But the floor it was strewed
Like the leaves on the strand
With the cards that Ah Sin had been hiding,
In the game " he did not understand."

But there is, all the same, a difference, and the difference lies, not in the rhythm, but in a series of delicate, almost imperceptible pauses that change the character of the music. It is in the management of the pauses,—in the recognition of the value of time-beats,—that Coventry Patmore's supremacy, in the Ode form, lies. In his "domestic verses" he uses rhyme in places where Tennyson would not have dreamed of it,—recklessly, audaciously ; but, in his highest moods, when his imagination is at its whitest heat, he treats rhyme as an echo. Why he retains it at all, except as a concession to that conservatism which is the perpetual foundation for his extremest radicalism, is an unanswered question. As an echo, not as a mere imitation of an echo, rhyme has great musical possibilities which Mr. Patmore has only suggested. Phrase answers to phrase in music, but the effect is of strophe complementing strophe, not of line answering to line. As in the sextette of a Petrarchan sonnet, the rhymes echo one to the other rather than boldly repeat the cadence with equal voice, so rhyme, at its best is an echo,—or, if a repetition, it is well softened by distance. I speak of rhyme when applied to the higher and finer moods of the mind. As a help to the expression of gaiety, high spirits, of the intoxication of the senses,—as an assistance to the "attack" of the vocalist, in songs written for actual singing and full of the minor emotions, it is invaluable. It would be only necessary to point to the "Nora Creina" of Tom Moore to show this, if it needed to be

proven; it is to the brisker of his melodies what the sound of the castinets is to the Spanish songs like "La Paloma"; absent, the loss would be felt; but it is not an essential part of the melody.

The verse-form,—made up, in English, of catalexis, rhythm and rhyme,—addresses itself to the ear. The eye of late insists that verse shall consider it; but this demand is only a modern concession, entirely unreasonable, encouraged by the base education of the eye through the meretricious usurpations of the art of printing.

Now, who could or would sing or chaunt the every-day doings of Patmore's amiable lover and his lass without a loss of self-respect? Rhyme ought to be a musical accompaniment. In the "Angel of the House" and "The Rosy Bosom'd Hours" it ceases to be a musical effect because it is ineffective and becomes merely an equivalent for the legend, "this is verse." "John Gilpin," a rhymed ballad, has the same right to exist as "Chevy Chase" or "Lord Bateman." Its recurrent rhymes might be crooned endlessly by an old nurse near a rural fireside. One of the principal uses of rhyme in the very old days was to put children to sleep,—Eve, no doubt, discovered that without recourse to psychology or physics. The author of Mother Goose's Melodies,—who is one of the greatest of rhymers in English,—found this out through no series of experiments, but through the intuitional wisdom of generations.

If rhyme is an aid to memory, let the primary text books be in rhyme. As a relief to insomnia its value is unquestioned. All English poets since Shakespere have been safest, when, in long poems, they discarded it. The couplets of Pope tire us, if taken many at a time; and it is one of the greatest tributes to Dante, that his value has stood, among us English-speaking peoples, the test of rhymed translations.

As time goes on, poetry will be more and more addressed to the ear. It aims to express the inexpressible; it never succeeds because the inexpressible *is* inexpressible; but it approaches, it approximates; above all, it suggests. It flares or it glows, but it can never completely illuminate. Its form changes with the changes in speech and with the progress of the education of the people in music. When the

people cease to find poetry musical, they let it alone. Old Fletcher of Saltoun's Wise Man spoke of the "ballads" of the people, not of verses in the modern sense. Wagner and the circle impressed, in various ways with the musical "time-spirit," have gradually modified the popular view of music in Western countries. It is now, even with the more cultured of the ignorant, not entirely a matter of melody. The popular ear is becoming more attuned to those delicate tones, compact of sound and silence, which make up harmony. And verse music, which is a very different thing from music proper, is reflecting the effects of this progress. The difference exactly between verse and music can be tested only by physics. Sydney Lanier's researches, hypotheses, and experiment, founded greatly on Helmholtz, have taken off the chill that this association might have given the advocates of the intuitive school of poetry. As Mr. Edward Lucas White says: "We need to know exactly what are the sounds used in music, and exactly what are the sounds used in verse, how far and in just what respects they differ. Then we need to know to what degree each of the characteristics of sound—namely: pitch, time, loudness and quality—is of importance in the makeup of the rhythm of verse; and the like concerning music, and whether the importance of each in music is the same in respect to the others as it is in verse. And when we know all there is to know as to the differences between the manners in which their characteristics are handled, we shall know all there is to know about the difference between music and verse, considering each as sound only. Finally and definitely these questions can be settled only by careful and well-devised laboratory experiments. In the absence of such there is but a meagre and unsatisfactory basis upon which to reason."¹

This being true, exact conclusions as to respective value of music and the musical qualities of verse are at present out of our reach; but there is no doubt that the effect aimed at through verse is musical, and that verse has, in common with music, rhythm, time and what is called "quality." "Every difference of quality," Mr. White says, in his remarkable monograph, "is referable either to the different sets of

¹ On the Study of English Verse (unpublished). Edward Lucas White.

harmonics in the sounds compared or to the harmonics which are loud in one sound, being soft in the other, if the series for each sound be the same." In music, after time, pitch is of the greatest importance; in verse, after time, quality is of the greatest importance. In music there are combinations that approach to rhyme; there is recurrence approaching to parallelism in verse;—there are constant repetitions of rhythmical movements, but not often repetitions of the last note of a musical phrase exactly answering to that vowel and consonantal combination which we call rhyme. If there were no other reason, this would be enough to show that rhyme cannot be judged by the analogy of music. But to repeat, perhaps unwarrantably, verse has no right to exist if it is not musical. To be musical, it must have the vital qualities of rhythm and time. Shakespere's sonnet (LXXXIII) is rhythmical; you can count the time as easily as an orchestra leader wields his baton to the notes of Chopin's funeral march. Let us observe, though, that until we reach the couplet the rhyme in this sonnet is not forced upon us, as it is in the "domestic" verses of Coventry Patmore. It is like a gentle accompaniment; it does not round out the musical phrase. The first quatrain of the octave begins with a long, melancholy cadence:

"That time of year thou mayst in me behold
When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang
Upon those boughs which shake against the cold,
Bare, ruined choirs, where late the sweet birds sang."

In the second quatrain, the phrases become shorter, more personal, more emotional, more agitated:

"In me thou see'st the twilight of such day
As after sunset fadeth in the west;
Which by and by black night doth take away,
Death's second self, that seals up all in rest."

The rhyme in the sextette is not that mostly affected by Petrarch, who, in the most delicate of all forms, used rhyme more carefully than either Sidney or Shakespere. The "crack of the whip," the couplet at the end of the sextette, almost spoils one of the most harmonious English sonnets we have, for suddenly the rhyme accompaniment makes itself heard in a disagreeable and epigrammatic jingle.

The phrases are again quick and short, breathed swiftly over the dying embers of the heart :

" In me thou see'st the glowing of such fire,
That on the ashes of his youth doth lie,
As the death-bed whereon it must expire,
Consumed with that which it was nourished by.
This thou perceivest, which makes thy love more strong,
To love that well which thou must leave ere long."

Here is verse-music in perfection,—time, rhythm, and quality which rhymed, is delightful to the ear ; and yet it is not more musical than the speech of Belarius (*Cymbeline*, Act IV, Scene II),

" O thou goddess,
Thou divine nature, how thyself thou blazon'st
In these two princely boys ! They are as gentle
As zephyrs blowing below the violet,
Not wagging his sweet head ; and yet as rough,
Their royal blood enchafed, as the rudest wind
That by the top doth take the mountain pine,
And make him stoop to the vale."

As Shakespere increases in power he disregards rhyme. In the early plays he dropped into rhyming couplets continually; his practice in the later days was in direct contrast. As he matures, he lays less stress on the end of a line,—a practice which shows that his ear had begun to lose the association of rhyme. Orlando's rhymes make easy mockery for Touchstone. And, after Ariel's

" Hark, hark ! I hear
The strain of strutting chanticleer,
Cry, cock-a-diddle-dow,"

which the satirical spirit attunes to " Bow-wow," comes Prince Ferdinand's strain (*Tempest*, Act I, Scene II):

" Where should this music be ? I' th' air or th' earth ?
It sounds no more ; and sure it waits upon
Some god o' th' island. Sitting on a bank,
Weeping again the king my father's wreck,
This music crept by me upon the waters,
Allaying both their fury and my passion
With its sweet air ; thence I have followed it,
Or it had drawn me rather But 'tis gone,
No, it begins again."

Rhyme could not improve the harmony of Caliban's speech (Act III, Scene 2):

"Be not afraid ; the isle is full of noises,
Sounds and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not.
Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
Will hum about mine ears, and sometimes voices
That, if I then had waked after long sleep,
Will make me sleep again ; and then, in dreaming,
The clouds methought would open, and show riches
Ready to drop upon me ; that when I waked,
I cried to dream again."

The practice of Shakespere,—whose verse music was always addressed to the ear, and never to the eye,—shows that, in using the noblest vehicle for imagination and thought in our language,—the five-accented verse, with the iambic quality predominant,—he avoided rhyme. The practice of Coventry Patmore, who consciously advanced the musical quality of English verse many degrees, shows that, in his best moments, he looked on rhyme as a mere accessory.

The sonnet stands apart ; its fourteen lines are required, by rule, to have their bell-like effect ; but nothing is so like the couplet ending,—of which the English were so fond,—as the clang of the typewriter's metals. The sonnet was borrowed from a language which rhymes naturally ; in Italian it is easier to find a rhyme than to avoid one. Take, at random, the canzone,—

"Spirto gentil, che quelle membra reggi
Dentro alle qua' peregrinando alberga
Un signor valoroso, accorto, e saggio ;
Poi che se' giunto all' onorata verga;
Con la qual Roma, e suoi erranti correggi,
E la richiamai al suo antico viaggio ;
I' parlo a te, però ch'altrove un raggio
Non veggio di vertù, ch'al mondo e spenta;
Nè trovo chi di mal far si vergogna."

(Rime del Petrarca, Canzone XI).

In English this richness cannot be attained by the most stringent labor. There is too much noise in our words, and, in proportion, very little music. In the sonnet, artifice must be so chastened that it attains the supremest technical effects of art,—ease and simplicity. The thought of the octave may flow, wavelike, into the third quatrain, if you like the English

form ; or it may, if you prefer Petrarch's way, be closely allied to the syllogism, with the marked change from the premises to the conclusion. Like a diamond of fourteen facets, it must be cut and polished until it is lucent, in every part ; there must be no flaw, and Petrarch and those before him insisted that rhymes—the *sonnetti*—must ring at intervals ; but the Italians, who kick a rhyme with every step they take, would not stoop to pick up too many, while the earlier English made great and awkward strides in pursuit of rhymes which are very coy in our language. An unrhymed sonnet is impossible, for the conquest of the form is in proportion to the arbitrary difficulty overcome ; it is a thing apart—*sui generis*. And it is so written that the mandolin—or, in great hands,—the harp echoes must accompany the sonnet. Otherwise, as Italian masters made it, it could not be. It is an exotic form torn from a richer soil yet flourishing among us. But the ode is natural to us. It is a form of inspiration, in which every palpitation of the great thought is seen beneath the drapery of words. The English language is opulent in odes, from Spenser's *Epi-thalamium* to Lowell's "Commemoration." From Milton's "Lycidas" to Gilder's "I am the Spirit of the Morning Sea," they circle in splendor. And in this innermost splendor glow the Odes of Coventry Patmore. Crashaw had his gleams of great light. He came near to the nimbus of St. Teresa and the halo of St. John the Divine ; but Patmore is nearer. It was reserved for him, too, to atone for the tinkling of "The Angel in the House" and "The Rosy Bosom'd Hours" by boldly restoring to English verse its heritage of music. Patmore does not disregard rhyme in his "Odes," but it becomes an echo; he uses it as the servant of his thought; with him it is not like the genius of the Arabian tales, escaped from its vase, and tyrannous. He begins the work of emancipation by "rhyming at indefinite intervals." "A license," he says, somewhat frightened by this radical change from his earlier habit, "which is counterbalanced, in the writings of all poets who have employed this metre (catalectic verse) successfully by unusual frequency in the recurrence of the same rhyme."¹

¹ Poems, by Coventry Patmore: Fifth Collective Edition. London, 1894.
George Bell & Sons.

In "The Unknown Eros," Mr. Patmore propounds his theory and shows how it works in experiment. A poet, as a rule, gets the music in his head and measures it afterwards. "So," says Mr. White, "no one imagines that Barye had any lack of imagination because, after he had modeled, say a group of animals in violent action, he went over the model using a pantographic device when he was not modeling life size, and measured every part of the model to see if his eye had been at fault anywhere." And the poet uses his "pantographic device," his rules and measures, his tests and analyses, after the wildwood notes of his song have come to him. It may not be altogether a "wildwood" song, for by some unknown and unconscious process he has taken from the wind and thunder and the sea sounds their fundamental tones and harmonies. When and how did the song rise in his heart? Who knows? Maurice de Guérin's "Centaure" well exclaims: "Les mortels qui touchèrent les dieux par leur vertu ont reçu de leur mains des lyres pour charmer les peuples,—mais rien de leur bouche inexorable."

Coventry Patmore's music was deliberately composed by him, on hints found in those poets, from Drummond of Hawthornden to our own time, who had made "some of the noblest flights of English poetry." He restores silence to the singer, for his "catalexis" is only silence filled by the beating of time. He enables the student who could not find the law of the "Ode" among the many lawless imitations of Pindar, to touch a standard by which the finest form of the lyric may be judged. "In its highest order, the lyric or 'ode,'" he says, "is a tetrameter, the line having the time of eight iambics. When it descends to narrative or the expression of a less exalted strain of thought, it becomes a dimeter, with the time of four; and it is allowable to vary the tetrameter 'ode' by the introduction of passages in either or both of these inferior measures; but not, I think, by the use of any other."¹

'The thought, however,' he assumes, "must voluntary move harmonious numbers." He demands that final pauses be considered. He lays down as a great general law that *the elementary measure, or integer, of English verse is double the*

¹ The Unknown Eros : preface to 3d edition.

measure of ordinary prose,—that is to say it is the space which is bounded by alternate accents; that every verse proper contains two, three, or four of these ‘metres,’ or as with a little allowance they may be called ‘dipodes,’ and that there is properly no such thing as hypercatalexis. All English verses in common cadence are therefore dimeters, trimeters, or tetrameters, and consist, when they are *full*, i. e., without catalexis, of eight, twelve, or sixteen syllables. Verses in triple cadence obey the same law, only their length exceeds that of the trimeter on account of the great number of syllables or places for syllables (twenty-four) which would be involved in a tetrameter of such a cadence.”

While admitting, or rather insisting, that time and rhythm are the necessities of verse-music, he declares, almost with solemnity, that rhyme and alliteration—“head rhyme”—are no mere ornaments; the former marks essential metrical pauses, the latter “is a very effective mode of conferring emphasis on the accent which is the primary foundation of metre.”¹ This assertion is not, however, corroborated in the series of “Odes” which gives Mr. Patmore an unique place among English-writing poets. These great lyrics do not, in form, fit all parts of his theory. They cannot be justified by the old foot-rule methods of scansion; they are admirable material for the study of metres, and they seem to indicate that the verse of the future must have that spontaneity,—exclusive of monotony,—which all beautiful things have. His famous narrative-lyric, “The Toys,” is, by comparison, the severest criticism upon the verses on which his earlier reputation rested. No man with a sense of humor could have written most of them, and their method seems to justify the impression that he had to revolt against them, or perish as a poet. The quality of spontaneity and the characteristic of plasticity are evident in all those nobler lyrics. They answer to all the definitions of poetry and still have that hidden principle which no definition covers, and is felt, but which never has even been fully described. The “Ode” that of all in “The Unknown Eros,” best exemplifies Mr. Patmore’s theories, and

¹ Essay on English Metrical Law.

in which his inspiration is complete, is the seventh, "To the Body." It opens with the sweeping phrase,

"Creation and Creator's crowning good."

It is like the full tide of the first movement of a symphony; it gives the time and the scope of the piece. He mars the effect when he attempts to rhyme "good" with "infinity,"—

" Wall of infinity;
Foundation of the sky,
In Heaven forecast
And longed for from eternity,
Though laid the last ;
Reverberating dome
Of music cunningly built home
Against the void and indolent disgrace
Of unresponsive space ;
Little sequestered pleasure-house
For God and for His Spouse."

This is dignified ; this is solemn ; it is pitched in the highest plane of aspiration ; it will bear any analysis based on Mr. Patmore's theory of catalexis ; but, if verse is addressed to the ear, why should that conservative rhyme for "sky," "eternity," be addressed to the eye ? There are reasons of convenience and conventionality for his dividing his verse into lines which are only parts of a single musical phrase. For example,—

" Elaborately, yea, past conceiving fair,
Since from the graced decorum of the hair,
· Ev'n to the tingling sweet
Soles of the simple, earth-confiding feet,
And from the inmost heart
Outwards unto the thin
Silk curtains of the skin,
Every least part
Astonished hears
And sweet replies to some like region of the spheres."

Here we have an arrangement of musical phrases, dependent entirely on cunningly distributed silences, filled with time-beats. These phrases are *grave* or *allegretto*, as the sentiment dictating to the plastic form, forces them ; but, where the rhyme does not show that a line ends, there is not, except it be a stopt-ending, any indication of the line, to the ear.

"Formed for a dignity prophets but darkly name,
 Lest shameless men cry 'Shame.'
 So rich with wealth concealed
 That Heaven and Hell fight chiefly for this field ;
 Clinging to everything that pleases thee
 With indefectible fidelity;
 Alas, so true
 To all thy friendships that no grace
 Thee from thy sin can wholly disembrace ;
 Which thus 'bides with thee as the Jesubite,
 That, maugre all God's promises could do,
 The chosen people never conquer'd quite;
 Who therefore lived with them,
 And that by formal truce and as of right,
 In metropolitan Jerusalem."

The music of the sustained phrase reaches the culmination in

"For which false fealty
 Thou must needs, for a season, lie
 In the grave's arms, foul and unshriven,
 Albeit in Heaven,
 Thy crimson-throbbing Glow
 Into its old abode aye pants to go,
 And does with envy see
 Enoch, Elijah, and the Lady, she
 Who left the roses in her body's lieu."

There are those that hold that the passionate, yet solemn music at the close, defies Mr. Patmore's rules. The fact remains that it is pure verse music. Tried by the tests drawn from the Greek and Latin, which so far as English metres are concerned, are alien to us, these fine harmonic phrases would be rejected ; the time has gone when the music in our language must be stifled to suit rhetorical measures which can not be applied to it.

"O, if the pleasures I have known in thee
 But my poor faith's poor first-fruits be,
 What quintessential, keen, ethereal bliss
 Then shall be his
 Who has thy birth-time's consecrating dew
 For death's sweet chrism retain'd,
 Quick, tender, virginal, and unprofaned !"

It is to be regretted that the exquisite sense which caught and gave this musical sequence should have marred it for the ear by making 'his' read 'hiss'. It would have been better to have done without the rhyme.

In the little pathetic sonata, "If I Were Dead", which manifests the results of his theories, Mr. Patmore uses rhyme with an audacity which seems lawless;—fortunately one forgets this in the admirable effect produced by accent and silences, so managed that silences seem as the shadow of waving leaves,—

" If I were dead, you'd sometimes say, ' Poor Child ' .
 The dear lips quivered as they spake,
 And the tears brake,
 From eyes which, not to grieve me, brightly smiled.
 Poor Child, poor Child !
 I seem to hear your laugh, your talk, your song.
 It is not true that Love will do no wrong.
 Poor Child !
 And did you think when you so cried and smiled,
 How I, in lonely nights, should lie awake,
 And of those words your full avengers make ?
 Poor Child, poor Child !
 And now, unless it be
 That sweet amends thrice told are come to thee,
 O God, have thou no mercy upon me !
 Poor Child ! "

" Wind and Wave" opens with,

" The wedded light and heat,
 Winnowing the witless space
 Without a let,
 What are they till they beat
 Against the sleepy sod, and there beget
 Perchance the violet,—"

and drifts into silence with

" And so the whole
 Unfathomable and immense
 Triumphing tide comes at the last to reach
 And bursts in wind-kissed splendors on the deaf'ning beach,
 Where forms of children in first innocence
 Laugh and fling pebbles on the rainbow'd crest
 Of its untired unrest."

The place of "The Unknown Eros," and the other poems which are catalectic, is fixed. There can be no question as to their position among the best poems in English speech. They are worth much, from the technical point of view, because,—whether Mr. Patmore's theories stand or not,—he has applied a new measure,—or newly discovered an old measure,—which opens wider vistas of delight to all whose ear is attuned to sounds of beauty. Without the intention of doing

so, he shows us that rhyme is practically unimportant. Unconsciously, too, he offers evidence against artificial conventions, and at the same time proves that the exact science of verse is a vain phrase until the value of speech sounds be settled by physics. A time may come when we shall not entirely agree with Sidney Lanier, in the last chapter of "The Science of English Verse" that: "For the artist in verse there is no law; the perception and love of beauty constitute the whole outfit; and what is herein set forth is to be taken merely as enlarging that perception and exalting that love." But we shall always hold that "*in all cases the appeal is to the ear; but the ear should, for that purpose, be educated up to the highest plane of culture.*" The sense so refined makes for law.

The "Odes" of Coventry Patmore are precious for this sort of culture. They may lead to greater and more splendid forms of utterance in the future than either Shakespeare or Milton caught and gave forth. The day has not come when the reading of poetry will be taught as carefully as the musician teaches the reading of music, but a score of the verse effects of Mr. Patmore might easily be prepared, within certain musical limitations, which would broaden the views of those readers of verse who now fancy that the music of the great poet consists principally in recurrent rhymes or assonances, and thus limit their perception and enjoyment.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

THE PRE-MOSAIC SABBATH.¹—I

The gradual evolution of man's rational faculties is accompanied by signs of a moral sense whence springs the manifestation of various duties that result from the necessary relations between Creator and creature. Rationalists and infidels excepted, all admit that man is obliged, by means of external worship, to acknowledge his dependence upon a Supreme Being, the beginning and end of human existence. Though generally received in principle, considerable diversity prevails in applying this truth,—due, no doubt, to the fact that the time of fulfilling the duty falls within the sphere of positive legislation. True, the leaders of the various theories concerning the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath do not assign this motive for their differences ; nevertheless, they can be traced to an improper location of the borderland between natural and ceremonial law, or to a tendency in some to make every possible argument serve the purpose of a preconceived theory.

Hessey² points out the salient features of six systems between some of which not more than an accidental shade of variation can be detected. A threefold division will, therefore, suffice to embody the chief ideas of the contending parties. There are the claimants of a sabbath before the exodus³ ; the advocates of a sabbath under the law, and those who, while leaning to one or other of these views, hold that Christ abrogated the old covenant, and consequently the appointed day of worship is no longer the seventh but the first day of the week.

The purport of the present article is simply to embody the line of argument favoring the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath. A cursory glance at the rise and progress of the pre-Mosaic sabbath idea, a judicious examination of the Scriptural evidence and the results attained by the labors of orient-

¹ A dissertation offered to the Faculty of Theology for the degree of Licentiate in Theology (June 1898), by the undersigned, professor of fundamental moral theology in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore.

² Sunday, its Origin and History.

³ Andrews, History of the Sabbath. Lewis, History of the Sabbath and Sunday.

tal scholars, together with the *a priori* reasons which demand a pre-Mosaic sabbath, will doubtless contribute to facilitate this undertaking.¹

I. THE APOSTOLIC AND ANTE-NICENE FATHERS.—The necessity of giving undivided attention to the observance of the day on which Christ arose from the dead, prevented the Apostolic Fathers from commenting on those verses of Genesis, which "have created the whole controversy upon this subject."² They could scarcely have insisted on a pre-Mosaic sabbath, and consistently carry out their purpose with the conservative Jews.³

As the difficulties of the apostolic age were still unsettled, the pre-Mosaic sabbath did not elicit special attention during the Ante-Nicene period. Nearly all the allusions to it are gathered from passages bearing on other important points of belief or practice. The first line which has been turned against a pre-Mosaic sabbath is taken from Justin's works. Circumcision and sabbath-keeping are, to his mind, on a par. The former did not exist during the patriarchal age; neither did the

¹ For the present study the original SOURCES are as follows: SACRED—Genesis II, 2, 3; Exodus XVI, XX. PROFANE—Babylonian Legends, Chaldean Account of Genesis, New York, 1880; Babylonian Calendars, Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, London, 1881-1884. LITERATURE—The Fathers, scholastics, early Jewish writers, and many commentators treat different phases of the question. I have used especially: Tostatus, In Genesim et Exodum, "Coloniae Agrippinae, 1613; A Lapide, In Genesim et Exodum, Lugduni, 1840; Hummelauer, In Genesim, Parisiis, 1895; Hummelauer, In Exodum, Parisiis, 1897; Dillmann, Genesis Critically and Exegetically Examined, Edinburgh, 1897; Delitzsch, New Commentary on Genesis, New York, 1889; Tappehorn, Erklärung der Genesis. GENERAL REFERENCE WORKS—Only those giving special attention to the question are mentioned. Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, London, 1887; Schrader, Cuneiform Inscriptions I, London, 1885; Wilkinson, Customs and Manners of Ancient Egyptians, London, 1857; Wellhausen, History of Israel, Edinburgh, 1885; Boscowen, Primitive Hebrew Records in the Light of Modern Research, New York; Rheim, Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums, vol. II, Sabbath; Smith, Bible Dictionary, Sabbath, Week; Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. XXI, art. Sabbath. SPECIAL TREATISES—Lotz, Questiones de Historia Sabbati, Lipsiae, 1883; Hessey, Sunday, Bampton Lectures, 1860, London, 1889; Gilfillan, The Sabbath viewed in the light of Reason, Revelation, and History, Edinburgh, 1881; Cox, Literature of the Sabbath Question, Edinburgh, 1865; Wood, Sabbath Essays, Boston, 1890; Warren, The Sunday Question, Boston, 1890. REVIEW ARTICLES—Proctor, Origin of the Week, Contemporary Review, June, 1879; Johnston, The Sabbath in the Monuments of Ninevah, Catholic Presbyterian, Jan., 1881; Johnston, Traces of the Sabbath in Heathen Lands, Catholic Presbyterian, Mar., 1881; Martin, Origin of the Week, Philosophie Chrétienne, Jan., 1882; Durand, La Semaine Chez Les Peuples Bibliques, Etudes Religieuses, Apr., June, 1895; Jensen, The Supposed Babylonian Origin of the Week and the Sabbath, Sunday-School Times, Jan. 16, 1892; Jastrow, The Original Character of the Hebrew Sabbath, American Journal of Theology, April, 1898.

² Paley, Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, v. 7.

³ Vid. Barnabas' Epistle §15, Ignatius ad Magnesianos, cc. 8, 9.

latter.¹ No doubt Justin's intention was simply to show how the sabbath, such as it was under the law, did not exist in pre-Mosaic times.² In order to show that the sabbath was not a means of justification, Irenaeus³ quotes passages from Exodus⁴ and Ezechiel.⁵ No more judicious appreciation could be presented on this point than the following: "Neither Ezechiel nor Moses claims that the sabbath was not observed before the Mosaic age, but both consider that no other nation accorded it such a position as the Jews."⁶

The commentary of Estius⁷ on Genesis declares that St. Cyprian opposes the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath.⁸ While it is evident that St. Cyprian refers to the Almighty's complaints against the manner in which the Jews observed the sabbath, yet his language must be strained to obtain anything like a protest against the pre-Mosaic sabbath.⁹ Elsewhere St. Cyprian explains the meaning of sabbath as well as its application to weeks and years, but leaves no clue regarding its earliest observance.¹⁰

Perhaps, none of the Ante-Nicene writers leans so much towards a pre-Mosaic sabbath as does Origen. For him there is a sabbath which lasts during the duration of the world, and in which all those will keep festival with God who have done all their work in six days, and, who, because they have omitted none of their duties, will ascend to the contemplation (of celestial things) and to the assembly of righteous and blessed beings.¹¹

Tertullian coincides with his predecessors in many ways, but he deviates from them in his episode upon Abel.¹² No one can deny that sacrifice and sacred time are correlative; one

¹ Dialog. c. Trypho, c. 19, Migne, P. G., IV, 348.

² Cox, Lit. of Sabbath Question, vol. I, pp. 213, 214.

³ Contra Haereses IV.

⁴ Ezechiel XX, 12.

⁵ Exodus XXXI, 3.

⁶ Lotz, Questiones de Historia Sabbati, p. 10.

⁷ Posthumous Work.

⁸ Genesis II, 3.

⁹ Tractatus adv. Judaeos.

¹⁰ Oratio de Sp. Sancto.

¹¹ Contra Celsum VI, 61.

¹² "Consequently his (Adam's) offspring also, Abel offering him sacrifices uncircumcised and inobservant of the Sabbath whilst he accepted (or credited him with) what he was offering in simplicity of heart, and reprobated the sacrifice of his brother Cain, who was not rightly dividing what he was offering." Contra Judaos II.

calls for the other. Several of the Fathers regarded the sabbath as a sign between Jehovah and the chosen people, but it is idle to argue that, as a consequence, this militates against its pre-Mosaic origin. Did not the rainbow become a sign between God and Noe? Who will contend that it never appeared in the heavens prior to this covenant? Assuredly the Fathers would not reason thus in the latter case; why ascribe such a method to them in the former?

The language of Eusebius all but entitles him to rank as the earliest exponent of a pre-Mosaic sabbath.¹

Though imprudent to disregard the opinion of these writers in doctrinal matters, yet since they realized their inability to settle all mooted questions, it is not minimizing their authority to scrutinize their writings. Inasmuch as they have followed not only the same line of thought, but the same form of expression, the consensus thus obtained can scarcely carry as much weight as if they reached an agreement by personal reflexion and research. Finally, the speculations of a Gentile philosophy on the one hand, and the conservatism of a Jewish cult on the other could not fail to give a coloring to their views such as never would have occurred under more favorable circumstances.

II. POST-NICENE WRITERS.—As the main tendency of the leaders in thought during this period is to insist on the mystical or figurative sense of Scripture, definiteness of detail concerning a pre-Mosaic sabbath should not be anticipated. Saint Chrysostom is first in clearness, as he is first in time. From the very beginning, says he, God intimated the separation of one day in seven for spiritual exercise.² In a way less explicit, St. Ambrose alludes to God's rest on the sabbath day and insinuates that the sabbath commemorative of this rest was anterior to the law.³ St. Jerome points out the analogy between the sabbath and circumcision, but sheds no light on the present issue.⁴ Many passages in St. Augustine's works

¹ Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangel.* XIII 2, Migne, P. G. XI:1, 1190.

² "Jam hinc ab initio doctrinam hanc aenigmatis nobis institutus Deus eruditus nos in circulo hebdomadis diem unum integrum segregandam et consecrandam spirituallum operationum." Hom. X in Gen.

³ In Hexameron VI 8, 10—"Dies autem sabbati erat dierum ordine posterior, sanctificatione legis anterior." Ennar. in Psalmum XLVII.

⁴ Com. in Ezechielem, Lib VI, 20, in Amos, VI, 2.

indicate a determination to insist on the proper sense, real as well as figurative, of the text referring to God's rest after creation and to draw a line of demarcation between the sabbath of the Jew and the Sunday of the Christian.¹ This, however, he did without touching the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath.

Strange to say, St. Cyril of Alexandria undertook to clarify certain passages of Paul and Jeremias that offered difficulty to contemporary students of this question, yet withal he never ventured an opinion regarding the pre-Mosaic sabbath.² Later on Theodoret emphasizes the nature of the sanctification peculiar to the seventh day, and asserts that the inspired writer refers to the Creator's rest on that day, but he is silent as to the time when this blessing had its effect among men.³ The same is true of Procopius of Gaza⁴ and Isidore of Seville.⁵ This period closes with Bede whom anti-patriarchal sabbatists hail as a pronounced antagonist of the pre-Mosaic sabbath. Either to Bede have been attributed ideas of which he is not the author,⁶ or a figurative passage has been strained to give undue weight to prepossessed opinions.⁷

III. THE SCHOLASTIC PERIOD.—The scholastics deserve credit for a tendency to greater clearness of expression concerning the sabbath question. So systematically does William of Paris propose the reasons of a sabbath under the law as to give assurance that he would have been a vigorous advocate

¹ De Gen. ad lit., IV, 12; De Civ. Dei, XIII 17—Contra Manichæos XXII Epist. CXIX.

² De adoratione et cultu in sp. et verit. Migne, P. G., XXXVI 312 sq.

³ Questiones in Gen. XXI, Migne P. G., LXI 752.

⁴ Procopius in Gen. II, Exod. XX, Migne P. G., 80, 81, 407.

⁵ Isidore of Seville, Migne, P. L.; LXXXII (III) 251.

⁶ Hessey citing Bishop White, attributes the following passage to Bede: "Non actu et reipsa, sed decreto et destinatio sua quasi diceret quia quelevit Deus die septimo, hunc illum diem ordinavit sibi sacrum ut indicetur festus colendus a Iudeis." Hessey, Sunday, Its Origin and History, p. 102. An examination of Bede's writings does not tally with this passage. True, Bede does say that the benediction and sanctification of the sabbath are typical of a still greater benediction and sanctification, but this is not opposition to the pre-Mosaic sabbath. Vid., Bede in Hexameron I Migne P. L., XCI (II) 35 sq.—In Gen II, ibid 201 sq; in Exod. XVI; XX ibid, 313, 318.

⁷ Following Bede, and prior to the days of the schoolmen, there is little on this point. The writers were content to point out the mystical sense of a passage, or gave but a transitory notice to its real signification. To this category belong such writers as St. John Damascene (*Expositio Fidei Orthodoxæ* IV 23), Anglomanus (in Gen. Lib. II 16, 17), Maurus (Com. in Gen. IX Migne P. L., CVII 439), Bruno (*Expos. in Pentateuchum*, Migne P. L., CLXIV), and Ruperius (*De Trinitate et Operibus ejus*, Lib. II.).

of a pre-Mosaic sabbath had the question elicited any special attention in his day.¹

More than once did St. Thomas expose the fitness of the third precept of the Decalogue. While he did not leave any categorical statement on the pre-Mosaic sabbath, he has so explained proposed difficulties as to manifest a disposition in its favor.² Tostatus was the first to broach the subject in its present form. In answer to the question, "Was the sabbath sanctified by God in the beginning, observed by man in the state of nature?" he gives a negative reply, thereby taking his stand on a question that has gradually developed into one of the living topics of the hour.³

IV. POST-REFORMATION PERIOD.—Shortly after the Council of Trent, Catharinus⁴ espoused the cause of a pre-Mosaic sabbath. Subsequently, Malvendus,⁵ Ribera,⁶ A. Lapide,⁷ and Lightfoot⁸ adopted the same view, whilst Estius,⁹ Suarez,¹⁰ Menochius,¹¹ and Sylvius,¹² though less pronounced than Tostatus, incline to his position. Bonfrerius seems to favor the pre-Mosaic sabbath.¹³ Pererius is more explicit; he believes that Moses appointed the day to be kept holy by the Jews,—a statement not directly at variance with the idea of a pre-Mosaic sabbath.¹⁴

The activity of more recent students has opened new lines of investigation. The tendency to consider Genesis as a post-exilic production and the history of creation as naught but an effort to compress eight days' labor into seven in order to popularize the narrative, naturally implies that the creation legends never had any influence in the institution of a sabbath,

¹ De Legibus IV, XX.

² Summa Theologica 1a 2ae, Q. 100 art. VII—2a 2ae. Q. 122, art. IV. No one can deny that St. Thomas insists on a special fitness in the Mosaic sabbath as commemorative of the benefits of creation, and, therefore, who can gainsay the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath grounded on the same foundation?

³ Tostatus in Genes. II 2. 3.

⁴ Catharinus, ap. Suarez in opere sex dierum. Tr. I, Lib. II, c 11.

⁵ Malvendus, ap. Synopsis Criticorum, vol. I in Genes. II, 2. 3.

⁶ Ribera, ibid.

⁷ Cornelius a Lapide, Genes. II, 2, 3.

⁸ Lightfoot, Genes. II, 2, 3.

⁹ Estius, Genes. II, 2, 3.

¹⁰ Suarez, l. c.

¹¹ Menochius, Gen. II, 2, 3.

¹² Sylvius, Gen. II, 2, 3.

¹³ Bonfrerius, ap. Hummelauer, Gen. II, 2, 3.

¹⁴ Pererius, ap. Lapide, l. c.

but that the sabbath, originally an Assyrian festival, inspired the present record of creation.¹ To discuss the merits of this theory would introduce a digression too lengthy for the limits of this paper. Suffice it to say that a study of the text itself is the safest preparation for a judicious appreciation of the pre-Mosaic sabbath as set forth in the inspired volume.

"And on the seventh day God ended His work which He had made, and He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had done." Gen. II, 2. Various versions render this verse differently.² Nevertheless, the word sabbath, in the writer's mind, means to be done with.³ Consequently the Vulgate does not signify that God continued and ended His still unfinished work on the seventh day, but that He ceased to labor at the end of the sixth day inasmuch as He then completed the creation of new species, and rested on the following day. The language is anthropomorphic and does not imply that God ceased to govern and sustain the world as well as to concur in the production of new individuals. No wonder then to hear Eusebius say that here rest does not indicate inactivity, but simply that the Creator had finished the grades and order of all creatures.⁴

¹ Once adopted, this view would entirely destroy the value of any argument based on the second chapter of Genesis. It is sufficient to note here that in "primeval traditions (of creation) as they have come down to us in the old Chaldean form we find coincidences with the sacred narratives, and also variations from them, which indicate that while we have in no degree discovered the direct sources from which Moses derived his accounts of creation and early history of the world, we are pointed to still earlier sources common to both. What these were, however, admits of only one answer. What else could they have been than the accounts given by the common father of Shem, Ham, and Japhet before the dispersion of mankind, accounts handed thus from beyond the Flood as an heirloom of the ante-diluvian world." Geike, Hours with the Bible, Creation to Patriarchs, pp. 33, 34.

² The Syriac, Samaritan, and Septuagint versions read, "And on the sixth day." Theodore, (Questiones in Gen. XXI); Dillmann, (Genesis Critically and Exegetically Examined, Eng. Trans. I, p. 89); Barrett, (Synopsis of Criticism, p. 2); Burrows, (Bibliotheca Sacra, Oct., 1856, p. 288), and Suarez, (op. c. XI, 8), consider this as an error in transcription. Dr. Haupt, Vercellone, (Variae Lectiones Vulg. Gen. II, 2), think it correct, inasmuch as God could not have completed his work on the seventh day unless he had labored some on that day. Talmudists hold that this text was changed by the Greeks, but the better class of writers adhere to the Vulgate.

³ Dillman, l. c., Delitzsch, New Com. in Genes., vol. I, p. 105; Lange, Genesis, p. 175; Murphy, Com. in Genesis II, p. 70. "The radical force of the word seems to have been resecare, computare, whence the meanings finire, desistere, quiescere have come." Lotz, op. c., p. 5. "The Arabians explain it in the same way. Ibid. The primary force of the work is to cease doing *κατάπαυσις* in contradistinction to *'ανίπαυσις*, which carries with it the idea of recreation after fatigue—Vid. Exodus XXX, 17.

⁴ Praeparatio Evangel. XIII, 12; Zahn, Geschichte des Sonntags, p. 10.

The Fathers frequently allude to the figurative meaning of this passage. Some say that the Jews were commanded to rest on the sabbath because it symbolized Christ's rest in the tomb after His passion and death.¹ Others liken it to man's liberation from sin and subsequent repose in God.² This then is the view of this portion of the text taken by the Fathers,³ the schoolmen,⁴ and a host of modern commentators.⁵

It is to no purpose therefore to say that there is a contradiction between Genesis and the Gospel of St. John, where Christ says: "My Father worketh hitherto and I work."⁶ For "God is affected in the same way whether He work or rest."⁷ Hence cessation from previous occupation is all that the figure implies, and is by no means incompatible with activity in other directions,⁸ so that He rested, not in general, but from His work as Creator in mind and purpose,⁹ that the time of rest might be defined as a day, the result of the transference of a weekly cycle to the divine activity.¹⁰ The very network of the text itself shows that "He (God) finished His work on the sixth and rested on the seventh day."¹¹

V. THE BLESSING OF THE SEVENTH DAY.—"And He blessed the seventh day and sanctified it because in it He had rested from all His work which He hath created and made."

God is the "summum bonum," and since "bonum est sui difusivum," God's blessing signifies a communication of divine goodness to creatures.¹² How is this verified in the present in-

¹ St. Isidore, op. c. 251; St. Augustine, Epist. CXIX, 13; St. Jerome, in Ezechielem, VI, 20; Delitzsch, ap. Spence, Genesis, p. 192.

² Justin, l. c.; Tertullian, Adv. Judaeos, c. 2; Procopius, in Exod. XVI; Migne, P. G. 387; Bede, Genes. II, 2, 3; Rupertus, Genes., Lib. II, 19; Exod., Lib. III, 3; A Lapide, Gen. II, 2; Suarez, l. c.

³ Eusebius, l. c.; St. Chrysostom, l. c.; St. Jerome, l. c.; St. Augustine, Gen. ad. lit. XII; Theodoret, l. c.; Rupertus, Gen. Lib. II, 16.

⁴ St. Thomas, Ia, Q. 73; Suarez, op. c. XI, 5; Sylvius, Gen. II, 2; Tostatus, l. c.

⁵ Estius, l. c.; Menochius, l. c.; A Lapide, l. c.; Clericus, Gen. II, Ap. Syn. Criticorum; Dionysius Carthusianus, Lib. Sent., II, 15; Lange, op. c., p. 175; Spence, op. c., p. 35; Dillmann, l. c.; Delitzsch, l. c.; Cook, Bible Commentary, Gen., p. 37.

⁶ John, VI, 17.

⁷ De Civ. Dei, XIII, 17.

⁸ Sylvius, l. c.; Spence, l. c.

⁹ St Ambrose in Hexameron, VI, 10.

¹⁰ Dillmann, l. c.

¹¹ Theodoret, l. c.; St. Thomas, l. c.; Suarez, l. c.

¹² The inspired word (Gen. I, 22, 28) shows how a communication of God's goodness means that he attributes fecundity to different creatures. Lange applies this idea to the blessing of the seventh day so as to make it "give birth to all the festivals of God and men." Lange, op. c., p. 176.

stance? Does it mean that the other days were not blessed? By no means; they were blessed¹ by the creation thereon of various objects.² Therefore, whilst God wished the six days to be a sign of all created things "He would have the seventh, not as a day of labor, but set aside for rest from labor and fatigue as a testimony of the completion of the universe."³ Finally blessed above other days is this one because God's blessing culminated in sanctification.⁴

VII. THE SANCTIFICATION OF THE SEVENTH DAY.—Frequently does the inspired volume record how God sanctified various persons or things.⁵ Just as in these passages sanctification invariably specifies an object separated from all else of its kind, so was the seventh day set aside for the worship of God⁶ in order to afford man an opportunity to devote himself to God's service in a more special manner on this day than on the other six. Singular again is the seventh day inasmuch as the narrative does not contain the concluding formula used in the history of the other days. For this, Dillmann has, perhaps, advanced the most satisfactory reason. "The formula," says he, "is wanting, not, as it were because this day is to be designed as a day without an evening, an endless day whereby it would lose its character of the human sabbath, but because the narrative is at an end, there is no transition made to a farther day, and even its designation as the seventh day has been anticipated."⁷

VIII. REASON OF THE SANCTIFICATION.—God sanctified the seventh day that it might stand as a memorial of His wonderful works. Therefore did the Almighty invest this day with a special and distinct consecration both retrospective and pro-

¹ Chrysostom, Hom. X in Genes. Procopius of Gaza, Genes. II.

² Bonfrerius and Pererius say that the seventh day was blessed because the other days of the week are therefrom numbered. Lamy, Com. in Gen. p. 173.

³ Procopius, Genes. II 3.

⁴ Bede in Hexameron, Lib. II 36; Sylvius, Gen. II 3; Estius, l. c.; Suarez, l. c.

⁵ Thus did God speak of the first born, (Exod. XIII 2). Mt. Sinai (Exod. XIX 23), the Tabernacle, (Exod. XXIX 44) the Levites (*ibid*), the first fruits, (Numbers XVIII, 8) the Jubilee year (Levit. XXV, 10).

⁶Theodore, l. c.; Chrysostom, l. c.; Tostatus, l. c.; Menochius, l. c.; Clericus, l. c., Murphy, l. c., Spence, l. c., Tappehorn, Erklärung der Genesis, p. 54; Dillmann, l. c., Cook, l. c., Delitzsch, l. c.

⁷ Though Dillmann's exposition is sound, his allusion to St. Augustine's words (Conf. Lib. XIII, 36) is uncalled for because Augustine speaks figuratively representing the sabbath as the harbinger of eternal peace and rest. Julianus makes use of the same figure. Julianus ap. Catena Lippomani, Gen. II, 3.

spective, because on it he had entered into rest.¹ The Jews "were commanded to set aside the seventh day as sacred to divine worship. If forgetfulness of God should overtake them, they would, by the very fact of taking rest, be led to the memory of Him who did all things, and who rested on the seventh day."² No one could presume that it would be a fruitless day, a day to be ridiculed or despised,³ but all could understand how rest of mind and heart transcend bodily labor and fatigue and contribute "to the development and perfection of spiritual things."⁴

VIII. TIME OF THE SANCTIFICATION.—This point is hotly disputed; controversy will continue until the question receives a definite answer. As a matter of fact some say that there was no sanctification whatsoever at the end of creation;⁵ others that it was simply anticipatory of what took place in the course of ages, so that God hallowed the seventh day at the close of creation, "non actu et reipsa, sed decreto et destinatio[n]e sua";⁶ while still another class claims that God sanctified the day at the very dawn of history.⁷ Whatever be the merits of the first two positions, they are less firmly grounded than the last. The idea underlying them is the absence of any sabbath until the legislator of Israel descended from Sinai with the tables of the law. True, explicit enactment then incorporated the sabbath in the category of positive institutions, but is it logical to argue that every trace of a pre-Mosaic sabbath is thereby precluded? Surely amongst the primitive inhabitants of the globe there could have been a sacred seventh day, divested, it is true, of legal dignity and splendor, yet more in harmony with the condition of its observers. To look for an exact parallelism between the pre-Mosaic sabbath and that of Sinai, is to borrow much of the misunderstanding which characterizes a goodly sum of the utterances on this question.⁸

¹ Delitzsch, l. c.

² Procopius, l. c.

³ Theodoret, l. c.

⁴ St. Chrysostom, l. c.

⁵ Tostatus, l. c.; Sylvius, l. c.

⁶ Suarez, l. c.; Jerome, l. c.; Pererius, ap. Suarez, l. c.; Menochius, l. c.

⁷ Eucherius, ap. Catena Lippomani, l. c.; Theodoret, l. c.; Chrysostom, l. c.; William of Paris, op. c. IV.

⁸ Catharinus, ap. Suarez, l. c.; Ribera, Malvendus, ap. Synopsis Crit. l.c.; Bouquillon, Theol. Fund. p. 230. Lamy, op. c. p. 175. Sabbath Essays, p. 198.

To grant that some features of the sabbath indicate an intimate relation to the Jews,¹ is not sufficient ground for asserting that it was confined to them alone. The Lord of the sabbath was God of Jew and Gentile. Consequently, while He may not have issued any decree pertaining to the observance of a sabbath in primitive times, the example of His own repose "suggested to man a seventh day rest with suitable worship thereon."² And then what greater difficulty is there in allowing the necessity of a special revelation here than in the case of many other institutions whose existence is unquestioned, and which could never have been living realities unless God had revealed them to man.

Moreover, no one will contend that the obvious meaning of a passage is always correct; yet when the terms are unequivocal and the subject-matter easily understood, to assume the more recondite for the patent sense demands a serious reason. In this chapter of Genesis Moses makes an historical statement. Now, does he describe the work of creation in its chronological order, and then record an event which took place only twenty-five hundred years later? Is it reasonable to presume that he would have added the words in question unless they referred to a fact closely connected with the previous portion of the history? Nor could he have more clearly conveyed the idea that God blessed and sanctified the seventh day than by stating it in close proximity to the Creator's rest, an event which it was destined to commemorate. True, "he assigns the reason of the sanctification,"³ but his purpose is to show that as the reason existed from the beginning so also did the investiture of the day with special prerogatives.⁴ Finally, the candor and simplicity of the narrative make this a part of the creation history fully as much as any other, and do away with any theory alleging that the sabbath was an afterthought.⁵ Had Moses discredited the idea of a creation sabbath, he would have warned us against misinterpreting the passage.

¹ Deuteronomy, V, 12-16.

² S. Eucherius, l. c. Lapide, l. c. Philo, Ribera, Catharinus, ap. Synopsis Crit., l. c. Bonfrerius, Malvendus, ap. Hummelauer, Gen. II 2, 3. Kurtz, History of the Old Covenant, III 38. Murphy, l. c. Taylor Lewis, ap. Lange, op. c., p. 197. Delitzsch, l. c., Lange, op. c., 177. Bouquillon, op. c., p. 230.

³ Paley, l. c.

⁴ Vaughan, *Dublin Review*, January 1883, p. 43.

⁵ Bishop Clifford, *Dublin Review*, 1881, p. 311 sq.

This he never did, and consequently he would have us look upon the sabbath of Eden and that of Sinai as different phases of one and the same institution.

What strikes one most forcibly in the opposition of modern writers is that they fail to realize the full bearing of their own arguments. Nearly all of them have based arguments on the moral necessity of worship. No matter how freely they combat a pre-Mosaic sabbath they are too clever to deny man's obligation to devote some time, even a periodically recurring portion, to God's service, and inferentially to rest from worldly occupations as a condition necessary to discharge this duty. In spite of this they restrict the sabbath to a particular people. Certainly, if it be necessary among any people, it is, in a measure, necessary for all, because the needs of one nation are but a special form of the needs of all.

More striking still is the species of reasoning employed by Hessey when he speaks about the abrogation of the Jewish sabbath. "The political and ceremonial elements may be abolished, the moral remaining and being developed by Christianity."¹ If this reasoning has any value here it is equally strong against him in his position toward the pre-Mosaic sabbath. For once granted that Christianity preserves the moral elements with a variation in the ceremonial there is every reason to believe that the same could have taken place in a less perfect way in the early ages of the world's history. Many grant the one; few admit the other. Furthermore, positive law did not enjoin Sunday observance prior to Constantine. And yet Hessey, amongst many others, is a staunch advocate of an Apostolic Sunday. If Sunday was set aside among early Christians without positive legislation, why deny that the patriarchs kept the sabbath though there was no positive decree to that effect?

The same school considers the Creator's rest as exemplary and consolatory. God labored six days; He rested on the seventh. Man, say they, should imitate this example. How strange to reason this way, and, at the same time, to insist that upwards of two thousand years had rolled by before man

¹ Hessey, op. c., p. 18; Dale, Ten Commandments, p. 8; Heylin, Works, Part I, c. 4, p. 348.

began to realize the lesson herein contained. The reason for appointing this day, "because in it He had rested," appeals to man's intelligence, and intimates that he must have known and observed a sacred time. The opponents of a pre-Mosaic sabbath grant that he knew the reason in the beginning; that he kept holy the day seems to follow from this concession.

Lastly, to hold that the sabbath was the outgrowth of Mosaic legislation and nothing else, is to contend that the Jews were not stiff-necked and conservative. To take such a stand is to close one's eyes to the early history of the Christian Church. Among such a people Moses could never have introduced an institution entirely novel. No doubt his legislative code contains traces of foreign influence; for, schooled in Egypt,¹ the natural effect of his environment made itself felt in his dealings with Israel. And so Genesis gives the first link in the chain of evidence conspiring to prove the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath. Another step must now be made in the examination of the sixteenth chapter of Exodus.

IX. SIXTEENTH CHAPTER OF EXODUS.—According to a few critics the institution of the sabbath is here recorded.² Those who share Hessey's view consider the chapter valueless in this particular matter.³ By far the larger number of eminent writers see herein the revival of an old institution.⁴ The very turn of the historian's thought shows how he intends to insist on the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath. First of all, he relates how God proposed a triple test of obedience to the chosen people as well as a rule of action which such a test naturally demands.⁵ Special reference is made to the sabbath in the third.⁶ Two points are emphasized, namely: the He-

¹ *Acts VII, 22.*

² *Talmud-Grotius, ap. Synopsis Crit. Vol. I, Exod. XVI. Maimonides, Guide des Egarés, Part III, 22.*

³ *Paley, l. c. Hessey, op. c. pp. 111, 112.*

⁴ *Theodore, Questiones in Exod. 232. A Lapide, Exod. XVI. Lightfoot, Exod. XVI. Rivetus, ap. Syn. Crit. Vol. I, Exod. XVI. Kurtz, l. c. Delitzsch, Pentateuch II, p. 69; Cook op. c. p. 37.*

⁵ *Rupertus, Exod. Lib. III; Lange, Exod. p. 2; Delitzsch, op. c. II, p. 63; Hummelauer in Exod., p. 174.*

⁶ "And the seventh day came, and some of the people going forth to gather found none. And the Lord said to Moses: How long will you refuse to keep my commandments and my law? See that the Lord had given you the sabbath, and for this reason, on the sixth day he giveth you a double portion: let each man stay at home and let none go forth out of his place the seventh day. And the people kept the sabbath on the seventh day." *Exod. XVI, 27-30.*

brews distributed the days of the week and observed a sacred seventh day, "not indeed by a law strictly speaking divine."¹ However vigorous adverse criticism may be, its authors hesitate to accuse Moses of inserting these facts merely to anticipate a future ordinance. Nevertheless, they strive to undermine the value of the narrative by asserting that the proclamation of sabbath observance was previously communicated to Moses, and by him made known to Israel. They forget, however, that not a line in the whole chapter points to the institution at this juncture, though some would have here the culmination of a statute.² Moreover, the absence in this place of any direct reference to its institution, supposes an existing ordinance so well known as to render explicit mention unnecessary.³ The ellipsis, if any, would have been supplied by alluding to the ancient practice of keeping holy the sabbath day. The writer's silence, therefore, throws us back on the primeval institution of the sabbath as the only solution of what would otherwise prove an inexplicable omission. Moreover, "God bestowed this gift (the manna) in such a manner that the sabbath was sanctified by it and the way was thereby opened for its sanctification by the law."⁴ What better plan could Moses adopt to show that the sabbath, not yet a legalized ordinance, was already known?⁵

The rest of the chapter adds strength to this position.⁶ Anxious to weaken it, some claim that "To-morrow is the rest, etc.," were God's words.⁷ But how do they reach this conclusion? God had never made such a declaration. Neither did he directly refer to the sabbath in his previous intercourse with Israel's leader, nor did Moses himself announce a new statute. The words are "simply an explanation given by Moses," alluding to an already established institution, and hence he

¹ Hummelauer, op. c. p. 175.

² Paley, l. c.; Heylin, l. c.; Dale l. c.

³ Rupertus, l. c.

⁴ Delitzsch, Pentateuch, II, 62. Lange, l. c.

⁵ Lange writes in this same strain.

⁶ On the sixth day they gathered twice as much, i. e., two gomers every man: And the rulers of the multitude came and told Moses. And he said to them: This is what the Lord hath said, To-morrow is the rest of the sabbath sanctified to the Lord. Whatever work is to be done, do it; and the meats that are to be dressed, dress them; and whatsoever shall remain lay it up until morning. Exod. XVI, 22-23.

⁷ Paley, op. c. V, 5: Hessey, op. c., p. 106; Cook, op. c. II, 46; Thorndike, Laws of the Church, IV, 493.

specifies the way to dispose of superabundant manna in order to ensure a proper observance of the sacred day. Why then did the rulers address Moses? Their inquiry was provoked, not so much because there was no fall of manna on the sabbath, as because every tent throughout the whole camp had a double supply on that day.¹ And God Himself so made known this incident as to show that it was not anticipated by the people; for they were to prepare that which they brought in on the sixth day, and it would be twice as much as they gathered daily. This reads like the statement of a fact, not the publication of an edict, else it would be no easy task to justify Moses for withholding the statute according to the insinuation in the narrative.² The very purpose of the miracle favors this view. For why did God give manna on the sabbath? "Cum illis solis lege praescripsisset quiescere die sabbati, docuit illos ipso facto servare preceptum."³ Long had the sabbath been a dead letter.⁴ God will now revive it, and "prepare the way to give it a legal character amongst the chosen people."⁵ To this end He sanctioned its observance by a miraculous event.⁶ Thus understood, no one is surprised to hear Moses cry out: To-morrow is the sabbath of the Lord; whereas, if it be regarded as aught else than the restoration of a neglected institution, ample reason there is for surprise.

This gives the key to the connection between the beginning and end of the narrative. Despite the directions enjoined, the seventh day came, "and some of the people going forth found none. And the Lord said to Moses: How long will you refuse to keep my commandments and my law?" Sylvius holds that commandments here signify prescriptions concerning the manna, whereas law means the sabbath itself.⁷ Evidently the test was too much for the Jews. They profaned the sabbath, and the phrase "how long" implies a familiarity of more

¹ Whatever may be said about the naturalness of this product in Arabia, the circumstances of the case demand supernatural intervention. Vid. Sylvius, Exod. XVI; Hummelauer, op. c. 174; Smith, Bible Dict, p. 2704; Hessey, op. c., p. 111; Lange, l. c.; Delitzsch, op. c. II, 68; Cook, op. c., p. 319.

² Cook gives a slightly different view. Vid. op. c. 319.

³ Theodoret in Exod., Q. 32. Delitzsch, Pentateuch, II, 67.

⁴ Lightfoot, Exod. XVI; Lapide, Exod. XVI; Von Jhering holds that Israel observed the sabbath even in Egypt. Vid. Les Indo-Européens avant L'histoire.

⁵ Kurtz, op. c. III, 38; Rivetus, ap. Syn. Critic. Exod. XVI. Spence, l. c.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Sylvius, Exod. XVI.

than transitory duration, else propriety of fiction is violated. In a word the style of the account bespeaks acquaintance with the sabbath as an established fact. The chosen people asked no questions about its meaning, why it existed, how to keep it, what were its advantages,—questions which a new institution would surely have evoked.

X. SACRIFICE AND A PRE-MOSAIC SABBATH.—The Bible outlines another trace of a pre-Mosaic sabbath in relating how the early descendants of Adam sacrificed to the living God. The history of Cain and Abel points in that direction. More clearly still is the idea unfolded when it is written that “men began to call upon the name of the Lord.”¹ Mambre, Bethel, Sichem, Bersabee typify the progress and development of the idea among the Hebrews. Now “sacrifices, as a means of worshipping God and professing faith in the Messiah, were not the suggestion of human wisdom, but were offered on account of divine institution.”² This involves a revelation, which would emphasize man’s duty and lead him to set aside stated times for public worship. All the more reasonable in this when note is taken of the fact that in the Hebrew religion God is not equally near at all times and places.³ Therefore “solemn adoration of public worship must have had a beginning at some special time.”⁴ God revealed the necessity of sacrifice; He approved sacred places: His rest at the end of creation was probably an indication as to the time in which He desired to be publicly worshipped. The nature of society and social worship require a fixed time. This was particularly true of the Hebrews because their manner of life naturally led them to observe times and seasons. They would, therefore, be inclined to determine a time for publicly testifying their allegiance to the Creator of all things. In fine, the sacredness of the number seven⁵ and the custom of marking time by periods of seven days, taken in the connection with the foregoing facts, inevitably lead to the presumption that the day appointed for public religious worship was none other than the seventh day.

¹Gen. IV. All modern writers find here the inauguration of public worship. Vid. St. Thomas, Summa 1a, 2ae, Q 103, A 1; Tostatus, Exod. XIX.—Menochius, Exod. p. 37; Malvendus, ap. Syn. Crit. I, 399.—Lapide in Exod.—Sylvius, Exod., XIX.—Calmet, Exod.—Danko, op. c. I, 20.—Dillman, op. c., 209.—Delitzsch, Genesis, p. 264.—Hummelauer, Exod. p. 3.

²Danko, l. c.

³Smith, Religion of the Semites, p. 116.

⁴Dillman, l. c.

⁵Treated more fully in a subsequent chapter.

XI. SILENCE OF THE SACRED WRITERS.—Those who deny the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath appeal to the absence of "even the obscurest allusion to it from its mention in the creation record until the sojourn of the Hebrews in the wilderness."¹ This long protracted silence might cause surprise did not a little reflection greatly modify it. For the entire history of twenty-five centuries is compressed into the space of an ordinary sixty-page pamphlet, so that the bare skeleton of events belonging to that period is presented.² The points most likely to be passed over in silence are those most familiar to all concerned. More than this, solemnly though the sabbath had been promulgated amid the glories of Sinai, the same majestic silence marks its progress from the death of Moses to that of David.³ The history of Judges, Samuel, Saul contain no allusion to it.⁴

Instances of silence equally as striking as that of the sabbath are afforded by the sacred text itself dealing with other points of historical interest. Do we not find the like silence regarding sacrifices, though it is generally conceded that they were offered soon after the fall? The Bible records the sacrifice of Abel and never again alludes to sacrificial acts until Noe erected an altar after the deluge.⁵ Circumcision, a rite singularly Jewish, is not mentioned from the time of Joshua's entrance into the promised land until the circumcision of John

NOTE.—Many appeal to the unique formulation of the third commandment as evidence of the existence of a sacred seventh day prior to Moses. Their argument rests on the use of the word "remember," which can add little to the merit of any theory. And yet its wide-spread application calls for passing notice. "This," says Bishop Beveridge, "is the only commandment that we are particularly required to remember. The reason is because all the others were written at first on the tables of our hearts, engraven in our very nature, so that we may have a connatural sense of them upon our minds; and therefore cannot be said properly to remember but rather to feel them. But this is a positive precept given to man after he was made, and conveyed by external revelation of God who commands us to remember it." Moreover these writers say that the injunction to remember is grounded on these reasons: God rested from his work; He blessed and sanctified the seventh day. The past tense of the verb (He rested) is used. "God rested" surely dates from the creation. Evidently there is more weight in this argument than in the previous one. Conf. Wood, Sabbath Essays, p. 193; Edersheim, Bible History, II, 29, 30. Love, Bibliotheca Sacra, Oct. 1870, p. 747; Beveridge, Works, II 80.

¹ Paley, op. c. Book V, 7. Lewis says: To object that the Bible in its few brief memoranda of their (patriarchs') lives, says nothing about their sabbath keeping . . . is a worthless argument. Conf. Lange, Genesis, 197.

² Cook, l. c. ³ 426 years.

⁴ Prof. Phelps calculated that the sabbath is mentioned in the Scripture only four times from the days of Moses to the return from Babylonian captivity,—some one thousand years or more. Conf. Phelps, Perpetuity of the Sabbath, p. 3.

⁵ 1,650 years.

the Baptist.¹ And yet no one questions the existence of these institutions during the periods of silence; why gainsay the existence of the sabbath during a similar period?

XII. THE SEPTENARY NUMBER AMONGST THE JEWS.—The absence of explicit statements about sabbath observance during the period specified is not sufficient reason to assert that the inspired writer says nothing to hint at the existence of a sabbath in remote antiquity. For the Bible relates how Cain and Abel selected their respective offerings and brought them to a common altar.² This event is said to have taken place at the end of days, an expression implying a fixed, definite time for men to assemble and acknowledge their dependence on the Supreme Being. The more minute account of the deluge contains still more specific references of the same kind.³ In fine, the history of the early patriarchs bespeaks more than a passing acquaintance with a week of seven days. Jacob and Laban refer to the week as a seven of days so as to leave the impression that it must have been an institution of long standing.⁴ And when Jacob died, Joseph and his brethren, together with many Egyptians, mourned him seven days.⁵

In these passages the sense is real, but the number seven had also a mystical meaning.⁶ What could have given prominence to the number seven in pre-Mosaic days unless the blessing and sanctification of the seventh day? Exodus contains an almost unquestionable allusion to a sabbath day. For Moses calls upon Pharaoh to allow Israel to go into the desert and sacrifice to their God. The king's answer is well known; he ordered the task-masters to increase the labors of the Israelites, and thus prevent them from keeping holy the sabbath day.⁷

To sum up, though no separate passage of the inspired writings will suffice to prove the existence of a pre-Mosaic sabbath, still the cumulative force of the arguments deduced from Holy Writ tends to show that there must have been a sabbath before the Sinaitic legislation. The reasonableness of this inference will appear more clearly in the light of septenary institutions whose existence will presently form the subject-matter of examination. (Conclusion in next number.)

¹ 1,450 years.

² Gen. IV, 3, 4.

³ Gen. VII, 4, 10. VIII, 10, 12.

⁴ Gen. XXIX, 27, 28. Proctor holds that the seven-day week was the basis of all contracts pertaining to labor, because seven days was the ordinary term of engagement. *Contemporary Review*. June, 1879. p. 411.

⁵ Gen. L 10.

⁶ Gen. IV 15, 24; XXXIII 3; XLI 2-7, 25-30. XLVII 53, 54.

⁷ Exod. VI 6.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

There is much truth in the saying that one-half of the world does not know how the other half lives. We might re-cast the phrase to the effect that one social class does not know how another lives. With obvious limitations it thus expresses one of the most interesting phenomena which the sociologist meets.

Each social group has its own peculiar traditions, prejudices, practices, points of view, and philosophy of life, the result of a slow evolution or growth, and representing the net product of the experiences through which the group has passed during its continuous life. These traditions are shared in varying degrees by members, understood and appreciated by them in different ways, but always exercising a strange and enduring power over a majority, and by holding them together lending unity and strength to their association. If even a member of a group may misunderstand its traditions and spirit, and he certainly may, an outsider will not often rightly measure or grasp the true meaning and force which they possess.

When the group is of little importance, representing no great issue in life, it is less difficult to understand it and thereby do it justice. But when a group includes vast numbers and represents vital interests affecting those outside as well as those within, when its roots are deep and its life intense, the degree to which misunderstanding, partisanship and even frenzy may develop is a puzzle, if not a mystery. A group which reacts upon our own lives and affects our interests adversely is doubly hard to understand, so much can our interests color our views of truth. It has well been said that if the theorems of Euclid affected the distribution of property directly, no one of them would have escaped denial. All that bigotry implies, as far as it is of interest to the sociologist, rests upon the misunderstanding of the points of view and philos-

ophy entertained by a religious body. It is commonplace that a foreigner rarely understands the institutions and spirit of a people that he visits. Only with extreme difficulty can a man of the North understand our negro problem, simply because he does not see it from the point of view of the actors in the conditions where the problem exists. Those not acquainted with what is termed society have not by any means, a correct appreciation of the ideals, prejudices, points of view, and philosophy which reign there. They cannot understand the tragedies due to trifles, the ambitions which would overturn the universe and ignore God to gain mere nothings, the heartaches caused by disappointments—all trifles in themselves, but of tremendous importance to those who accept the shallow philosophy from which they spring and attempt to shape their lives according to its principles.

It is not enough to know literally what is said or written about the views and ideals of any vital social group. One must provisionally accept views, traditions, prejudices—all in fact—and set aside from consideration the effect that these may have on the group of which one is a member, if one would correctly understand. They are to the group the sources of being, life, action and inspiration.

The laboring class is a social group. In spite of differences of race, religion, profession ; in spite of the fact that on all sides it merges into other classes without revealing the practical line of differentiation, it has its philosophy, its spirit, its views—all distinctive and probably more clearly defined than those of any other vital group in society.

It occupies a central position in our economic life, it includes vast numbers of wage earners ; hence it is practically the fundamental group of human society. By common consent it is so regarded. On all sides we are meeting the admission that the next step in human progress must be the uplifting of this class ; the introduction of a healthy idealism into its life, the satisfaction of its just demands for a larger share in modern culture. Not alone that. The irresistible trend of things is leading us in that direction, whether or not we wish

it. A century ago the third estate won effective recognition ; the present century has seen the rapid advance of the fourth, and the signs of the times indicate as yet no retrogression. It is more or less a matter of indifference how far our speculative knowledge may increase in the next fifty years ; it is important for human progress that the laboring class be aided to a fairer realization of the promises which civilization makes to it.

The philosophy, the points of view and the feelings of the laboring class have come to clear expression in what is termed the Labor Movement. Those of the laboring class whose minds have reached definite and settled views regarding the condition of labor and its rights, organize, formulate demands, and take steps to make those demands effective. Though only a minority of wage earners in the United States is organized—approximately one million out of a total of fifteen million¹—the class idea is fairly well defined and the labor movement may be taken as thoroughly representative of the laboring class.² It is more easily studied than is the class, since it is a conscious, self-directing organization.

Broadly speaking, there are many phases of the movement, each of which represents either different problems, unlike views of the same problems or contrary methods of reform. Socialists, organizations of agricultural laborers, farmers' unions, trades unions either favoring or opposing political action are the chief elements in the general movement. In its narrower sense, the phrase "labor movement" is commonly applied to what we may call representative trade unionism, that is, organizations of industrial laborers whose purpose is to improve the condition of labor. They aim to accomplish this by securing shorter hours, better wages, better and safer conditions in the factory, protection for women and children, and the like.

But the general purpose of the movement is deeper. It is to secure the establishment of economic justice primarily, and

¹ A writer in the *American Federationist* of December, 1898, distributes the number as follows : American Federation of Labor, 60 per cent.; Railroad Brotherhood, 10 per cent.; local building organizations, 10 per cent.; Knights of Labor and others, 20 per cent.

² *Votez pour votre classe* is the brief but powerful appeal to laboring men that one sees in election times in France.

secondarily to help on a development of society along ethical, intellectual, social, legal, and political lines, which will insure to the laboring class the greatest opportunity for mental and moral elevation.

In working toward this end, the movement is hampered. Its position is one of difficulty, and it is naturally inclined to faults which reduce its power for good. Its nature and economic justification are misunderstood ; it is to an extent the victim of adverse circumstances, and it meets various obstacles in the laboring class itself. We wish in this article to point out some of the difficulties which the labor movement meets in this condition ; difficulties which, once understood in the movement and beyond it, might in a great measure be successfully met and removed.¹ Though most of them rest ultimately on the difficulty of understanding the traditions and spirit of a social group which represents material interests, it is best to view them first independently.

The labor movement is a reaction along class lines. In its origin there was more of instinctive feeling than of reason and philosophy. Though these latter have won recognition, feeling plays still too important a role. This being the case, the position and the character of the movement are defined. In the two it has serious difficulties.

a) It represents a class which is suffering under institutions long established and cherished on account of the principles they represent. Labor must carry on, practically, a warfare to win recognition for rights which it holds sacred. And every right must go through the same painful process of denial, discussion, recognition, legal sanction, transfer to public conscience. Each victory thus won implies an encroachment upon the heretofore recognized rights of another class, which is naturally inclined to use all available means to protect its interests. Shorter hours, sanitary conditions in factories, prompt payment of wages, protection of women and of children, Sunday rest—no sooner is one issue fought out and won

¹ Since we confine our observations to tendencies rather than facts it cannot be expected that we take note of every fact which may seem to contradict general statements made. One fact whose trend is with a tendency in society is stronger than ten which make against it.

than another must be taken up. The struggle is unequal. When we forget this we fail to understand the enormous task that labor aims to perform; we fail to see and to understand the heroism, hopefulness, and power, which must be in the movement.

b) The movement is inclined to take false views of the nature of social laws, social problems, and progress. It looks at conditions, and regarding only facts isolated, it fails to note the complex system of which they are part, and it does not see the long, slow evolution of which they are the product. Then it sees reform in mere facts, in specific measures. It demands such and forgets the need of adjustment, of growth. The exclusion of children and women from factories, the reduction of working hours to eight, or any other such measure might really imply a readjustment of international trade relations. This is by no means an easy task. Labor is more like the old time physician who diagnosed cases and treated them, than like the modern doctor, who looks to the evolution and history of a case first.

That there is a decided tendency to give justice to workingmen does not satisfy labor. It will not be satisfied with any tendency, though to speak with Emerson, a tendency alone can satisfy the soul. The progress of the century in protecting labor's rights is not cited as a cause of hope, a source of joy. Traditional complaints and incriminations are retained. Increased demands meet improved conditions, so that relatively to demands little progress is made. The standard of life is being constantly improved; that, too, is forgotten, and again, labor cannot see the absolute tendency toward amelioration which exists. This mistaken attitude toward progress and reform engenders in many a suspicion that labor is not in good faith in its agitation, and this is a true obstacle to the pursuit of its mission.

c) Another tendency which may be seen in the labor movement is toward remembering rights and forgetting duties. The keenness of the sufferings of many in the laboring class, the cold-blooded manner in which man was put on a level with the machine, the absence of humane relations between employer and laborer, naturally favored a development of the sense of

rights violated and retarded the growth of any sense of personal duty. The social system or the capitalist is blamed indiscriminately for the ills from which labor suffers; individual fault or perversity is overlooked. We do not often find in the labor press or the general agencies of the development of the labor movement, any effective appeals to working men to do their duty to God, family, employer; to live up to the ideals of temperance, chastity, self-mastery and industry.¹ With a terrible persistence wrongs are held before the laboring men till moral strength is greatly reduced and the sense of responsibility weakened. It would be strange were it otherwise, mistake though it be. The movement comes from a sense of wrongs. All children of reactions are born blind, though they may be made to see.

The difficulties or mistakes referred to seem to result from the failure of labor to understand the genesis of its movement, to know its own tendencies, and to exercise a serene self-mastery. Again reminding the reader that we are studying tendencies rather than facts, we may briefly review other classes of difficulties equally the source of trouble for the movement.

First, a series of misunderstandings. *a)* The historical necessity and economic justification of the labor movement are misunderstood. The protecting hand of authority was withdrawn from labor in the name of political philosophy and economic progress just at the time when the modern laboring class was being formed and was most exposed. Industrial life became largely a battle among the strong, who used the weak, unprotected laboring class as victims. But simultaneously, laboring men were winning political freedom and the right of association. It was inevitable that they should organize for protection. Then it seemed to labor that not only man, but machinery as well, was its enemy. Increasing division of labor and corresponding perfection of machinery seemed to be a

¹ This statement requires some limitations. Appeals for devotion to duty, self-discipline frequently appear in some labor journals. They are, however, contributed to the women's department and emanate from them. Trades unions generally make moral elevation one of their aims, but we refer here chiefly to the practical life of the movement. In it the tendency described is quite clear.

menace, to increase labor's dependence on a hostile employing class. Every advance in the evolution of machinery made reconciliation with the laboring class necessary again, for it implied a readjustment of relations, and this seemed to imply at least temporary disadvantage for the working men. In those facts and impressions the laboring class found inspiration toward organization. The solid justification of the effort of labor to protect itself by organization is seemingly not understood. First, legislators seem to misunderstand when they grant such scanty legal recognition to trade unions ; secondly, the courts seem to misunderstand when they use the injunction in the arbitrary manner that has marked recent history, and so easily admit the charge of constructive conspiracy against trade unions which are in conflict with employers.

Thirdly, employers seem to misunderstand when they refuse to deal in any way with labor organizations or when they antagonize them. The union scale of wages is repudiated as a presumption, union conditions in work ignored, union dictation scorned. When an employer takes such an attitude—happily the majority do not—it may be traced to its cause easily. If the union makes demands that cannot be granted, the opposition that such a course truly merits is frequently misdirected against the organization of labor on principle. When demands are just, an employer, who forgets the social character of his industry and the social obligations of his position, will resist labor organizations simply because he is selfish and blind to facts. The root of the trouble is deep. He stands for the principle that labor is a commodity and it should be paid for as raw cotton or iron ore, while the labor organization contends that labor is human, that man is more than things, that he shall have a share in the profits of industry comporting with his dignity as man and with his rights. This radical difference in the two positions adds greatly to the burden that organized labor must carry, for it makes necessary the struggle for existence itself. The laws allow associations of working men ; the courts must recognize them as allowed, while the employer has it in his power to nullify any good effect they might have. We find that between 1881 and 1886 there were in the United States 667 strikes, the chief

purpose of each of which was to win recognition for trade unions from employers.

b) Labor has sacred rights and grievous wrongs. They are frequently misunderstood by the labor movement itself, and more frequently by those outside of it.

The right to work, to a fair salary, the right to marry, to the enjoyment of proper home life are primordial, yet they can be defined with extreme difficulty. They are poorly protected in our social organization. Implying correlative obligations either in society or in individuals, the problem of adjusting institutions in a way to protect them adequately, seems to defy solution. The mediæval guilds seemed to recognize those rights, some of them at least, more clearly than we do, yet, even in them, we note defects. It is not certain that unskilled laborers were at all protected. In fact the opinion is suggested by Webb¹ that the guild organization did not extend to unskilled labor at all. Even those most friendly to labor can not exactly define their positions. The Holy Father, in his encyclical on The Condition of Labor, recognizes the right of the laborer to a family salary, but innumerable discussions divide men when the practical phase of the matter is taken up. Between 1887 and 1897 there were 1,639 laws enacted in the United States affecting labor, all reducible to a few basic principles and to about forty-three lines of action. Of the whole number 1,639, 114 specific statutes were declared unconstitutional by the courts. Of the forty-three lines of action followed, the constitutionality of twenty-three is in doubt. We have in that, an illustration of the difficulty which is met in trying to translate the natural rights of labor into positive law.² We have labor, therefore, struggling to establish its rights. The rights are extremely difficult to define, and it is almost impossible to incorporate them into a law which will effectually protect them.

Not only in questions of right, but as well in matter of fact we have the same vagueness, equal uncertainty. The relation

¹ History of Trade Unionism, p. 37.

² Democracy and the Laboring Man. F. J. Stimson. *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1897. This does not imply that in a given condition the rights of labor or of man to work may not be recognized effectually. Numberless instances may be found as, e. g., when Clement VII and Sixtus IV formally recognized the rights of the poor to the land as against large holders. Yet such attempts may be failures as were *les ateliers nationaux* of 1848 in France.

of immigration to labor, the effect of high or low tariff upon working men, the actual economic social effect of trusts, the relation of efficiency in labor to long or short hours, are all questions of fundamental importance. As long as they remain the topics of discussion, so long will this vagueness constitute a serious difficulty.

c) The principles, aims, methods of the movement are misunderstood. The principles are few and simple. The interests of all laborers are identical and opposed to those of the capitalist class.¹ Amelioration will come only by self help, through organization and action. It must come by peaceful means. The aims of the movement are equally definite,—to render the laboring class strong, self-conscious ; to win formal recognition of the organization of labor, to improve the economic condition of laborers ; to educate, refine, and emancipate them.²

The methods employed are the logical result of the foregoing ; unrelenting opposition to non-union working men, the boycott, the union label, and the strike. They are the chief methods which are peculiarly the weapon of the trade union. In addition it attempts to affect legislation, to shape public opinion and the like.³

Those methods are the natural outcome of trade unionism. It would be beside the question to observe that they are frequently carried to excess ; that time and again organized labor has been guilty of gross injustice and extravagant assumptions. Such has been the case,⁴ but that cannot justify one in misunderstanding the trade union position.

Resting on these misunderstandings, we find a serious and wide-spread prejudice against unions, which penetrates nearly

¹ This refers to the historical relations of the two classes, since in the economic process such could not be the case. Working men find at times that to act on this principle too freely brings disaster upon themselves, as was the case in Fourmies in France, where they drove industry away and all but ruined the city. In some parts of Europe efforts are made to unite laborer and employer into one association.

² It would be hard to determine just what is meant by emancipation. Labor regards its actual condition as that of economic slavery, but the actual form which emancipation would take is not clear. The poet Burns has given very strong expression to this feeling in his dirge, "Man was made to Mourn."

³ The union label is employed to mark goods manufactured where union labor is employed. Laboring men and the general public are appealed to and asked to purchase only such. Firms which antagonize unions are termed "unfair," lists are published in the labor press and the public is asked to boycott them.

⁴ It has been necessary to enact laws protecting non-union men against the coercion of unions.

every circle of society, not excepting learned circles. Some never hear of unions except when there is a strike. Looking through the strike will never discover the heart of the movement. Others confound anarchy and labor organization, forgetting that there can be sacred rights which must be won by effort, and that the capitalist sinned long before labor made a step to protect itself. Many come to regard trade unionism as popular organized mob impudence without a semblance of justification.

Difficulties are met in the laboring class itself and in the very ranks of organized labor.

a) One-fifteenth of the wage earners of the United States is organized.¹ In the vast majority not organized there is much indifference and even opposition to the movement. It may be that pure selfishness explains the indifference in part. Organization implies restriction of personal liberty to a considerable extent, for one must be governed by union conditions ; it implies financial burdens which the workers may not care to assume. Then in as far as laboring men are prosperous they may feel no need of organization. This apathy is a serious difficulty, and when it is replaced by antagonism the difficulty is greatly increased. Not only must the Labor Movement lose its energy in trying to educate the laborers to the class idea and draw them into organizations, but this condition robs it of the power to carry its ideas into effect. There is little efficacy in organization when ten non-union men stand ready to replace every unionist who may complain.

b) No little evil results to the movement from the fact that the ranks of organized labor harbor bitter dissensions. To attempt to unite into a harmonious whole men of all religions, professions, views, temperaments ; men whose interests seem to be actually antagonistic ; men of skilled technical training, and men of no training ; men of radical and men of conservative tendencies, is simply a task that human forces can not accomplish. Class feeling, class traditions, and philosophy unite laboring men closely in views and sympathy ; and yet class organization and action are not so easily brought about.

¹ It may be well to remark that the total numbers of wage earners includes women and children.

Taking the American Federation as our greatest labor organization, we find the building trades and countless minor associations indifferent to it, and the Knights of Labor, its bitter antagonist. We find serious divisions on the question of labor in politics, of socialism ; in a word there are radical differences on nearly every important course of action. This weakens the movement and materially reduces its power.

c) The movement suffers very seriously from its own mistakes. It is inclined to be suspicious of all who do not positively and fully agree with it. It tends to regard as enemies those who hesitate, because they do not yet correctly understand the movement or grasp the argument by which its demands are to be justified when justifiable. This is particularly to be noticed in the attitude of labor to all employers. *Mon ennemi c'est mon maître* expresses a very general thought. It is likewise characteristic of the attitude of labor to religion, or more accurately, to clergymen. Labor leaders in the lower ranks and labor papers are quick to allow to pass wholesale charges of dishonesty, hypocrisy, and indifference against every representative of religion without discrimination. We read for instance, "at all the centers of learning, in all the ecclesiastical assemblages, in the editorial chairs, and in every other of the apparent centers of influence of the times, the poor seem to be of no importance whatever. For this reason, the great problem of the age is treated with an indifference which serves no purpose except to reveal the ignorance of the classes referred to." Or again, "In controversies between the employer and employee, the preacher is almost invariably to be found supporting the former and criticising, if not condemning, the latter. Is it any wonder that the workingmen hold themselves aloof from the Church and lose faith in the professions of Christianity of these modern representatives of Christ? Is it any wonder that they give but little heed to the teachings of the Church, when the latter nearly always lends its influence to increase the power and advantage enjoyed by corporate greed over the labor it employs, when it is continually helping to fasten the yoke of oppression more securely upon the necks of the workingmen ?" ¹

¹ Both citations are taken from notes made some time since, but circumstances make it impossible to verify them now. It is for this reason that the exact sources are not indicated.

Any fair-minded observer knows that among Protestants of all denominations there are sincere friends of the laboring men. As for the Catholic Church, has the influence of the Pope's encyclical been forgotten, or is the immense work being done in Europe for labor to be ignored?

Those to whom government is entrusted are, in the third place, the objects of the suspicious and impatient criticism of the labor movement. We all know pretty well what are the methods in politics. We see the attempts of moneyed powers to control legislation and their too frequent success. But wholesale denunciation, sweeping and absolute condemnations, ill-tempered, ill-advised criticism—aside from all question of truth—can in no good way serve the cause of labor.¹

The moral effect of this tendency is evil. We leave aside the question of veracity and still the effect is evil. It kills the sense of responsibility and fosters recklessness. It helps to deaden the laboring men to all sense of personal fault, and makes them morally weaker. It keeps them in a state of almost chronic dissatisfaction and makes them ready for extreme measures where moderation is always wiser. One revolutionary phrase thrown into the ears of a dissatisfied multitude may have more effect than a thousand appeals for temperate action and for order. There is enough of noble sentiment and pure motive dormant in the breasts of our working men to refine, enlarge, and revolutionize our civilization. Why pass it all, and awaken the lowest feeling of the human heart as the engine to furnish power to one of the noblest movements in modern history. It is short-sighted leadership which tries to construct the kingdom of human brotherhood on hatred.

In failing to control itself and to exercise discretion in the development which it favors, the Labor Movement materially harms its interests, gives to its opponents justification for their course, and to those who are indifferent, abundant excuse for their apathy. It thus to its natural difficulties adds others of its own making.

¹ This tendency is aptly described in the following from Emerson's lecture on the "Times": "The reforms have their high origin in an ideal justice, but they do not retain the purity of an idea. They are quickly organized in some low, inadequate form and present no more poetic image to the mind than the evil traditions which they reprobated. They mix the fire of the moral sentiment with personal and party heats, with measureless exaggerations and the blindness that prefers some darling measure to justice and truth."

To an extent the movement is the victim of circumstances.

a) The movement has not fair representation in the daily press. That press is almost entirely capitalistic ; it requires capital ; it is in sympathy—as far as it has sympathy—with capital. The American daily is above all a newspaper. It professes to teach little philosophy of any kind, much less the philosophy of the Labor Movement. An occasional editorial on a strike or on labor in politics is not enough to teach the public what the movement means. Such things are not read except by the intelligent few ; the many want news and no more. They will desert the daily that forgets this.

It may be observed that labor has its own press ! True enough. There are, maybe, 250 weekly and monthly labor papers in the United States, many of which are conducted with great skill and energy. But the labor paper is only secondarily a newspaper. It is primarily the organ of a philosophy which is not popular with the great public, or of a profession which interests only those who belong to it. It can carry on no propaganda beyond those who already believe, for it can not get readers beyond them. Great as is this difficulty it is increased by lack of capital, so necessary in any enterprise of the kind. This condition practically increases every difficulty referred to in the preceding pages. Did the public look to an authentic, able, recognized labor press for education in the whole Labor Movement, it seems that many of the misunderstandings under which it suffers might be cleared away. Were this to be done, the whole aspect of the movement and the attitude of the public might be other and better than it is.

b) The leadership of the movement is a source of difficulty. In America, much unlike the Continent, the labor movement generates its own leaders. Men of really fine intelligence and splendid power of organization come to the front rapidly enough. But dishonest and selfish men rise as well. Some become extremists, unpractical ; they lose influence with the outside world and disappear or become socialist agitators. Others who show talent and energy in industrial pursuits as well as in teaching fellow workmen are advanced in position till they are out of the ranks of labor entirely.

Others leave the movement to accept political preferment, sometimes driven out by the laboring men themselves. Some remain, however, and become the solid, conservative guides and chief hope of the movement. Unfortunately much of their energy must be expended in fighting down the radical projects constantly emanating from those to whom conservatism is foreign. Smaller leaders at times betray their trust and cast suspicion on all leadership. Hence, workingmen so often mistrust leaders, mistake conservatism for betrayal, and attempt to remove or injure those very men in whom, chiefly, hope reposes.

In a word, having abundant material for able leadership, the actual leadership of the movement is not always stable; as far as stable, much of its efficacy is hindered by its efforts to justify itself against suspicion, to apologize for its well considered conservatism, and to suppress some of the radical tendencies which manifest themselves.

c) The strength of any reform movement lies in the moral make-up and development of those in it as well as in the justice of the cause. The latter gives power, the former controls it. The laboring class is the victim of an environment, economic, social, moral, which largely hinders or retards the development of the intellectual, moral, and spiritual elements in its members. Little is expected of them in any way, and they have tremendous odds against which to strive. They are not inspired by the hopes which society reposes in them, for unfortunately we do not show that we hope for great things from them. To speak with Carlyle, we lump them together into a dim, compendious, monstrous, far-off unity, more humanely called the masses. This certainly results in moral weakness and increased lack of sense of personal dignity and individual responsibility. Much of the moral power that men have traces its origin to hopes fostered in the breasts of others. Since it is precisely from the moral strength and sense of responsibility of its members that the labor movement should draw much of its power, dignity, and security, this condition materially reduces its capacity for noble and careful self-control, for justice in demands, toleration in action, and correctness and honesty of view.

d) The seductions of socialism constitute a grave difficulty for the Labor Movement. The members of trades unions are schooled in complaint, encouraged in protest, predisposed to idealism. Thus psychologically constituted, they confront the hard realities of life, the factory or the mine with noise and dust, severe masters, long hours, doubtful employment and varying wages. Being no philosophers, often they do not reason, they feel. Socialism appears. Siren-like, it sings of peace and plenty, of ease and culture for the weary and unrefined—all to be had by a single effort. Let us not be blind. Socialism recognizes the deep longing for the ideal which is hidden in the bosom of humanity. It knows, too, how prone suffering humanity is to self-deception. There lies its tremendous power, its terrible fascination. Skilled in drawing true pictures of the real in life¹ and equally skilled in putting before men's minds the ideal as a mirror by which to judge, it is no wonder that it exerts a power among laboring men. It is in fact constantly seeking to win over the trade unions. It has fought many a hard battle among them, though repulsed successfully. The Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1894, and the Kansas City Convention in December, 1898, give proof of the intentions it fosters. It is frequently overlooked that socialism is gaining favor in the ranks of labor in United States. Individual laboring men are going over; the labor press is open to the freest socialist propaganda. Many unions are already avowedly socialistic. It would be a rare thing to find any labor organization opposed to socialism on principle. Those which do oppose it, and they constitute the majority of trade unionists, do so chiefly because of the fear of politics with which socialism seeks to ally itself.

Socialism is a dangerous dream, the resort of impulsive and sympathetic men who to a great extent are thoroughly honest but impatient and unread in history, knowing only the longings of human nature, not able to see its limitations. Aside from the question of the truth in socialism (many will not agree with the writer's estimate of it) the fact is that the majority

¹ It is a common practice for some socialist papers to publish in parallel columns, accounts of the vices, luxury, and other excesses of the rich, and of the misery, degradation, and woes of the poor.

of the American people regard it as a source of danger. Alliance with it would mean for the labor movement intensified opposition from all sides, the loss of all acquired prestige and the inevitable collapse of the movement.

c) Labor has few, if any, accredited representatives in our legislative bodies. In all of its attempts to influence legislation it must depend on friends who are more or less constant, but are not as devoted as might be intelligent men taken from the movement itself.

A final difficulty which we wish to mention brings us back to the thought with which we began. It is next to impossible for those outside the movement to grasp its subjective side, to appreciate the views, feelings, traditions which are so carefully fostered and so widely shared, to understand its philosophy of history and of society.

Here we have a given set of facts. Long columns of figures, accompanied by detailed descriptions of habits, of food, clothing, lodging, wages, and prices tell us of conditions ten, twenty, forty, fifty years ago. We who are not in, nor of the Labor Movement, study those facts and compare them with conditions to-day. We are dispassionate, calm, scientific; we are believers in figures; we call them mirrors wherein the past shows itself with great accuracy. We compare, generalize, conclude. We find that there has been a decided advance; that though there are some defects—many if you will—still cause for satisfaction predominates. We become apologists for actual conditions consequently and our work is done. Men in and of the Labor Movement probably do not read those columns of figures and those descriptions. If they read them, they do not care for them. They are neither calm nor scientific, nor believers in figures as mirrors of the past. They are merely human. They have little memory except of wrongs; every nerve fiber is quick with the energy of resentment, every utterance is toned with bitterness and, at times, unconcealed hatred.¹

Studying statistics will never reveal to us the true labor movement. Its power, inspiration, existence are on the sub-

¹ "We who are greatest are considered the least; we who are the real masters have willingly offered our necks to the chains of servitude . . . we have magnified, blessed, and glorified the class who have robbed us of our heritage"—*Typographical Journal*, March 15, 1897.

jective side. Facts make impressions and feelings lead to conclusions, connected by no link of logic to their antecedents. From such impressions and conclusions—comes much of the power of the movement. Views not facts make revolutions. It is the study of the state of mind of labor that will reveal to us the movement. A volume on its psychology would be a useful book.¹ Ruskin says that we can learn lessons from hewers of wood, from those that dig and weave, and plant and build, not by thinking about them but by joining them. The case is similar with the labor movement.

Our general failure to approach the labor movement from this subjective side prevents us from doing justice to it, renders much that we would do for it useless because misdirected, and consequently those who might correct and direct labor when it is in the wrong, are out of sympathy with it, do not really understand and cannot assist it.

The labor movement has a noble mission. Its difficulties are numerous and great. But a few of them have been reviewed in the preceding pages. It must understand itself, its tendencies. It needs a more complete self-mastery and a deeper sense of responsibility. They are all the more necessary since, on the one hand, there is great cause for complaint, and on the other, it is vitally necessary for the movement to be guilty of none of the excesses which it itself condemns. It would be easier for labor to cultivate those qualities, were its organization more widely spread. It is clear all through the history of labor organizations in the United States that they become conservative as they become older and stronger. Consciousness of power in man is a pledge of its cautious and temperate use, the most fruitful source of the sense of responsibility.

Labor should foster religion in the working men instead of assisting in its disintegration. Duty to God, to society, to

¹ In the *Fortnightly Review* of November, 1893, Mr. A. R. Wallace, writing on the Psychology of Labor and Capital, erroneously assumes that capitalist and laborer are fixed and separate psychological types, distinct and incontrovertible, with different qualities and conformation of brain. It is not in that sense that we refer here to the psychological side of the Labor Movement. We can appreciate the meaning and power of the movement, not by studying conditions and statistics, but rather by studying the views—the mental attitude of the Labor Movement.

self must be taught ; the single basis of morality protected ; the dignity of man and the meaning of life insisted upon. Religion alone will do this, because it alone can foster conscience, inculcate respect for rights, encourage true fraternity. Naturally, the movement should protect itself. It should know its rights and wrongs—it need not submit without emphatic protest to wrongs of any sort. But it should aim to develop every noble instinct in the working men, hold in check the baser side of nature ; aim to develop character, morality, ambition ; to foster the sense of individuality, of responsibility in them. Should it ever get power, its faults or virtues will be visited on its own head. History is witness that its future is in its own hands.

W. J. KERBY.

HANNIS TAYLOR'S CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

We have before us the second volume of Hon. Hannis Taylor's work on "The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution."¹

The first volume, issued some years ago, traced out the genesis of that constitution, a process extending from the Teutonic conquest of Britain down to the reigns of the Lancastrian kings. The period covered in this first volume the author terms "the formative period." By the end of it the constitution had completed its structural growth and "its vital organ, the parliament, had developed all of its powers and privileges."

The second volume brings the history down to the present time, and traces out what the author calls the "aftergrowth of the constitution."

The two volumes together form a complete and connected history of a wonderful constitution that has been growing and developing for fourteen centuries, and which, directly or indirectly, has served as a model for the constitutions of nearly all the great modern states that have successfully attempted representative government.

As an introduction to the work, the first volume begins with a chapter showing "The English Origin of the Federal Republic of the United States." The thesis of the author, and the inspiration of his work, is "the fact that the constitutional histories of England and the United States constitute a continuous and natural evolution, which can only be mastered when viewed as one unbroken story."

To judge a work fairly, one must keep in mind the aim that the author set before himself. There are then two legitimate points of view—how well has he succeeded in doing what he set out to do; and what is the objective value to the reader of the result that he has more or less fully achieved.

¹Origin and Growth of the English Constitution, by the Hon. Hannis Taylor. 2 vols., \$⁵, pp. XL-616; XLIV-645. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1896-1898.

In his preface Mr. Taylor tells us frankly his aim. It is to draw out in the light of the most recent researches—English, German, French, and American—the “entire historical development of the English constitutional system, and the growth out of that system of the Federal Republic of the United States;” and to do this “in such a manner as to impart to it something of human interest.” In the carrying out of this purpose, “the double effort has been made to satisfy the critical student of the ‘science of politics’ as to fulness and accuracy of detail, and at the same time to interest every American citizen who desires to read within reasonable limits the entire history of the wonderful constitution under which he lives.”

Mr. Taylor's work, therefore, does not aspire to supplant the works of the great investigators of the modern English school. It does not, for example, assume to set aside the constitutional history of Bishop Stubbs, but supplements and completes it in the light of researches made since his time. The history by Stubbs will doubtless long remain the standard for the period of which it treats,—the period covered by Taylor's first volume. He was one of that band of pioneers who delved into the rich mines of English historical records, and gave us the superb results of their own researches. For the student these volumes of the Bishop of Durham must, in the appreciative words of Taylor, ever remain rich “mines of fact and thought which may be worked without limit and without exhaustion.” Stubbs was an original investigator. Taylor is an analyst and an expositor. The work by Stubbs impresses us as fragmentary, and as lacking in continuity and sequence. The fact of development, of evolution, does not stand out. The material,—and a wealth of material, too,—is there for the story of continuity, but the story itself is not unfolded. Mr. Taylor, availing himself of the researches of Stubbs and his fellow-investigators, sets himself to drawing out the story that these researches unfold. He has done well what he set out to do, and his book stands as a model of the expositor's art. But it is something more. His keen analytical mind and his legal training have given him a peculiar fitness for working over the wealth of material ready to his hand, and his book is a noteworthy addition to

historical literature, for which every student of British and American political institutions will feel grateful.

The tone of the work is calm and impartial, and the author shows a spirit of fairness towards Catholics that we are little accustomed to find in historical treatises by non-Catholics.

Bishop Stubbs is not unmindful of the influence of the Church on English constitutional development. He does not fail to emphasize the fact that the "cohesion of the Church was for ages the substitute for the cohesion which the divided nation was unable otherwise to realize." But to him it is always the Anglo-Saxon Church, "the Church of England." Roman influence is carefully overlooked. This is especially noticeable in his account of the original consolidation of the "seven churches," which was a tremendous factor in the unification of the English nation. This bringing together of the dissenting churches, one would infer from the reading of Stubbs, was due originally to the plans of King Oswy, whose policy was first formulated in his own mind, and then left to be carried out by Archbishop Theodore, to whom, owing to the death of Oswy, "the merit of the scheme actually carried into effect is due." The influence of Rome is so minimized in the account by Stubbs, that the reader cannot escape the impression that the pope was merely tolerated in the affair, and generously permitted by Oswy and Theodore to play the role of a harmless figurehead.

Mr. Taylor's lines convey a different idea. He emphasizes even more strongly than Stubbs the influence of the Church in begetting national unity for England; but he brings out in addition the extent to which the pope was a factor in this result. "The heptarchic divisions of the country reappeared in the earliest forms of organization which the Church assumed. But it was no part of the plan of Rome to permit the bishoprics thus established to remain long in a state of isolation. In 669 Theodore of Tarsus, appointed by Pope Vitalian to the vacant see of Canterbury, arrived in Kent with the specific purpose of organizing the English Church, so that it could be brought into definite relations with the see of Rome."

Illustrations of Mr. Taylor's desire to state fairly the Catholic point of view in disputed points are to be found in his fre-

quent references to Catholic sources. Lingard is frequently cited amongst his authorities. In discussing John's struggle with Innocent he desires to give the basis of the mediæval claim of papal supremacy; and for an exposition of just what this claim was he goes to Cardinal Manning's monograph, "The Pope and Magna Charta," and quotes the statement there found. Again, when he comes to the discussion of Innocent's annulment of Magna Charta, he cites in footnotes the defense offered for this both by Manning and by Lingard. This may seem to be no more than is to be expected of any scholar who essays the dignified and serene role of the historian; but, if so, it is an expectation that meets disappointment more often than realization—until we have begun to feel grateful to the historian who remains true to the principles of scholarship sufficiently to seek to learn the Catholic point of view from the pages of a Catholic authority rather than from the pages of some writer who could not understand us if he would.

Again, in discussing the effect produced by John's oath of fealty to Innocent as his vassal, Mr. Taylor, with true historical instinct, tries to reflect the point of view of the age of which he writes, rather than to judge the act by the standards of a later day. "John's sudden and abject submission to Innocent, which entirely frustrated the plans of his enemies, was looked upon at the time as a complete settlement of all the difficulties in which he was involved. There is little or nothing in the contemporary accounts of the transaction to show that it excited anything like a feeling of national humiliation. It certainly was not without precedent. John's own father, Henry II, had become the feudatory of Alexander III, while his brother, the lion-hearted Richard, had become the man of the emperor. The idea that the English nation had thrilled with a sense of shame and degradation, when John became the vassal of Innocent seems to have been the afterthought of a later time."

It would be extravagant to call this book *epoch-making*, but in one sense it may be called *epoch-marking*; for it is only in our own day that such a complete work on English institutions has become possible. Truly wonderful have been the results of recent researches into the history of institutions,

and nowhere, perhaps, is this more the case than in the field of English constitutional history. Few existing human institutions are more worthy of study than the English constitution, whether we consider the long development it represents, or the influence it has exerted on the progress of human kind; and few have such a wealth of data to invite the study of the earnest investigator. The history of that constitution runs on unbroken over fourteen centuries—a period longer than from the founding of Rome by Romulus to the fall of the Western Empire. During these fourteen centuries a national life had been continuously unfolding, a people had been working out slowly, painfully, yet steadily their political salvation, and had been laying deep the foundations of the institutions that to-day are the characteristics of the advanced civilization that is conquering the globe. The evidence of the successive steps by which all this had been accomplished were neither lost nor destroyed. There were mines of historical records to be found in England, richer than any in Europe, “whether we consider them in relation to antiquity, to continuity, to variety, to extent, or to amplitude of facts and details.” Yet, until well on in our own century, these mines remained unworked, and the great English historians began their constitutional histories of England with an epoch that knew the constitution in an essentially completed form. Of the real period of its making they said little, for they knew nothing. To quote Mr. Taylor: “Hume began his ‘History of England’ with the accession of the house of Stuart—the volumes which treat of the preceding period were pinned on as an afterthought. How innocent Hume was of any real knowledge of the early and mediæval history of England he puts beyond all question when he tells us in his autobiography that, prior to the accession of the house of Stuart, ‘it is ridiculous to consider the English constitution. as a regular plan of liberty.’ Hallam began his ‘Constitutional History’ with the accession of the house of Tudor—three meagre chapters in the Middle Ages sufficed to contain all he desired to say of the preceding period. The magnificent ruin known as Macaulay’s ‘History of England’ really begins with the accession of the house of Stuart—a single chapter sufficed to

contain all that the most brilliant and the most inquisitive of Englishmen cared to say of the ten eventful centuries which precede that event. Some deep and serious reason must certainly have impelled three minds, at once so acute and comprehensive, to pass so lightly over the early and mediæval history of their own country in order to begin their narrations in comparatively modern times. That reason is not hard to find. The truth is, until recently, the real history of early and mediæval England has remained a sealed book. Only within the last fifty years have the charters, chronicles, and memorials, in which were entombed the early history of the English people been made accessible; and only within the last twenty years have they been subjected to the final analysis, which has at last extracted from them their full and true significance."

The renascence of historical study which began early in the century in Germany bore superb fruit in the domain of English history. *A priori* methods quickly gave way to the German method of painstaking investigation into sources. Through the researches of Palgrave and Kemble, royal grants, manorial records, court records, and even private conventions, were brought to light by hundreds. The government, too, set seriously to work to gather together, classify, and preserve the vast mass of scattered historical archives, and soon a flood of light began to pour in upon the hitherto dark centuries of English history. Freeman was then able to go back to the period of the Norman invasion and write the history of that conquest; and Stubbs to go back to the beginnings of England and give us magnificent views of the wonderful process of national growth during the centuries stretching from the time when the Teutonic invaders of Britain transplanted there the institutions of their fatherland to the accession of the house of Tudor to the throne. In this last quarter of our century only has it been possible to trace out the continuous evolution of those political institutions under which we live from their genesis to the present day. This is the work Mr. Taylor has done, and in this sense his book may be called epoch-marking.

The history of constitutional development in England possesses an interest for us transcending that of any other of our

modern nations, on account of the profound influence it has exerted on the political systems of the modern world. Mr. Taylor thus forcibly puts the case : "A third and higher capacity in which the English parliament may be viewed is that in which it stands forth as the accepted political model, after which have been fashioned the several systems of popular government which now exist throughout the world. In this last and highest capacity its position is not more than a century old. The political systems of all the Teutonic nations, as they appear to us when written history begins, contained the germs of the representative principle, and in every one of the modern European states that have arisen out of the settlements made by the Teutonic nations on Roman soil a serious attempt has at some time been made in the direction of representative government. The remarkable fact is that in every continental state in which such an attempt was made, it ended at last in failure and disappointment. By the sixteenth century nearly every effort in the direction of representative government upon the continent of Europe had come to an end. In England only among the Teutonic nations did the representative system survive ; in England only has the representative principle—which has been called a Teutonic invention—been able to maintain a continuous existence. In this way the English nation has been able to hand down the representative principle from the barbarian epoch to modern times ; in this way England has become the 'mother of parliaments,'—the teacher of the science of representative government to all the world. Since the beginning of the French Revolution nearly all of the states of continental Europe have organized national assemblies after the model of the English parliament in a spirit of conscious imitation."

The history of England thus becomes the history of the nation that through the long centuries nurtured and kept alive the fundamental principle of orthodox political faith, against the day when the world was ready to receive and embrace it; and it may not be without interest here to indicate briefly the origin and development of *representative* government.

From the pages of Tacitus we know that the Germanic tribes rejoiced in free institutions that stood out in striking contrast to

everything known to the Roman imperialism of the day. But we know now, in the light of researches in the field of comparative history, that these free institutions which challenge the admiration and the envy of the Romans, were only a slight development of primitive Aryan institutions, of which Roman and Greek, not less than Teuton, had been the inheritors. Greece had once been the home of democracies. She had once known *elected* rulers; and a popular assembly composed of all the freemen had shouted its approval or disapproval of the legislation proposed by the king or his council. So, too, early Rome had known republican forms. The assembled citizens had chosen their rulers, and in popular assemblies they had enacted the legislation of the land. This was *popular* government, pure and simple; the citizen participated in person and not through the medium of a *representative*. It was practicable in the government of a town, or a single city. It was impossible when two or more cities should federate, or when one city had grown into a nation; and neither the Greek with his inborn genius for politics, nor the Roman with his superb talent as a builder of empire, was ever able to devise and put into successful operation a system of representation that would preserve popular government in its essentials when the state had outgrown that early form we call the city-state. This fatal defect was bound to prove the ultimate ruin alike of Greek and of Roman state.

It operated differently in the two cases. The absence of any effective principle of representation prevented the Greek cities from ever permanently uniting into a larger whole, and left them to fall finally, one by one, under the dominion of the Macedonian, and then to pass into the estate of a Roman province.

Rome, in her beginning, was very much like any of the city-states of Greece. But in Greece there were many city-states, each of which was able, in varying degrees, to defend its liberties and autonomy against the aggressions of its Hellenic neighbors. Though they thus preserved their independence for a long period, that independence meant isolation; and isolation, as we know, meant ultimate disaster.

Rome, on the contrary, found no other city near her able successfully to dispute her pre-eminence. Her wonderful career of conquest steadily widened the frontiers of the state until Rome had grown into Italy; and Italy in time widened into that greater state whose frontiers lay along the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, the Danube and the Rhine. But the constitution of the state underwent no modifications to suit it to these new conditions. As long as the republic endured, the constitution of the state remained what it had been, a constitution suited to the needs of a city-state. The Roman citizen could not exercise his franchise except in Rome itself; and when, under the empire, Caracalla extended citizenship to every free inhabitant of the Empire, it was an empty honor to all those remote from Rome,—carrying only the dubious prerogative of being permitted to pay an increased tax. The Roman knew of no device by which the citizen in distant parts might have had a voice in the direction of the government. To the resident in Gaul it mattered little, practically, whether a despotism or a democracy ruled at Rome. Under the republic he could not express his will in the councils of the nation, except he went to Rome in person. This was practical disfranchisement. Whether people or emperor were sovereign at Rome, was to him only a question of whether his tyrant were one—or many-headed. Under such a system it was impossible to weld together a firm and enduring state. The great fabric of the Roman state was inevitably destined to disintegration.

The Teutonic tribes that poured into the Roman world and settled themselves on Roman soil had the germ of the *representative* principle in the institutions they had known at home. Migration and conquest alone exerted an influence tending to augment the power of their leaders and to emphasize the monarchical element in their polity at the expense of the democratic element. In addition to this, they came into contact with a settled civilization, with a disciplined, municipal life, and with a superbly wrought-out system of law and centralized administration. In the coalescing of systems that necessarily took place, the elements of self-government faded out, and over the whole of Europe a system of kingship arose and developed, until it reached its climax when the king could

say, "I am the state," and when men accepted the principle that the will of the prince was the supreme law.

During these centuries another process of development had gone on in the ancient Roman province of Britain. When the Teutonic bands first landed on its shores, they were confronted by conditions different from those that their kinsmen had met in the continental conquest. The old Roman civilization had practically disappeared, and in the fierce struggle between the invader and the native there was neither truce nor quarter. They did not settle down side by side, as on the continent. The native was slaughtered or driven back to new fastnesses, and the invader remained sole possessor of the whole territory he had won, free to set up anew the institutions of the fatherland and to organize his polity on the same lines as had prevailed in his other home. The old Teutonic constitution was thus transplanted in England, where, practically uninfluenced by Roman survivals or by the institutions of the conquered, it worked out its own development. The idea of kingship was, of course, strengthened by the fact of conquest and the long wars that followed, but the principles of *local* self-government endured.

In their new homes the invaders preserved their old units of local government. Agriculturists as they were, they drew together into hamlets or towns, all the economic affairs of which were discussed and settled in a general assembly, or town-meeting. But for wider purposes of judicial administration, and of common defense, the townships were grouped together to form larger political aggregates; and to the assemblies of these larger divisions each township sent up, as its *representatives*, "the *reeve* and four select men." Here was the principle of *representation*, though only in the germ. Simple and natural as the device seems, it was a principle unable to find a place in the political systems of the ancient world. Only through such a means was it possible for a small self-governing community to grow into a colossal state, and preserve its form of government.

A long continued process of consolidation went on amongst the various bands of invaders. The seven kingdoms of "the heptarchy" were merged into three larger wholes—the king-

doms of northern, of central, and of southern Britain ; and these, in turn, were fused into a single kingdom—"Englaland." During all this process the kingly power was expanding in scope, and growing in strength, until in the constitution of the consolidated kingdom, the king and his thegns have become the dominant element, and the independent local communities play a very subordinate role. As the feudal principle of territorial lordship gained strength, the free communities were reduced to the estate of dependencies of some overlord ; and at last the great popular assembly, the folk-moot, the early seat of sovereignty, shrinks upto the king's council, an aristocratic body, composed of the great magnates of the realm. Then the Norman came and conquered. The processes of feudalization were hastened and systematized. The work of centralization went on apace. Everywhere the king's officer comes into the foreground, and a strong system of centralized government is superimposed on the old substructure of English local government.

In spirit the free institutions brought over by the Teutons had undergone sweeping change ; but the forms had suffered little alteration. The old machinery had remained intact. The form of *representation* had endured. To the courts of the hundred and of the shire the "reeve and four select men" still went up, as of old, as the representatives of the townships.

Up to the reign of John, however, the principle of representation had never entered into the constitution of the great national council that met and deliberated with the king, nor was it established formally even by Magna Charta. That council, once the great assembly of *all* the freemen, had, during the growth of feudalism, been transformed into a council consisting only of tenants-in-chief, feudal lords who held their lands directly of the king. All that the charter guaranteed was that *all* tenants-in-chief, the lesser as well as the greater, should be summoned to the council,—the latter by special writ addressed to each individually, the former by a general writ proclaimed by the sheriffs in the courts of the shires. The great council, the parliament of the realm, as specially constituted by the charter, thus remained an aristocratic body, in

which the great body of sub-tenants was without representation. But this third estate was growing in wealth and power. The machinery for *representation* was ready at hand, and in the constant struggles between king and barons, it was inevitable that it should sooner or later be utilized. Thus, when in his difficulties John summoned his council in November, 1213, in addition to the tenants-in-chief, he summoned through the sheriff four "discreet men" from each shire. Forty years elapse before the shires are again invited to send *representatives* to the great council of the nation.

But when in 1254 the prelates and the magnates composing the parliament were unwilling to vote Henry III. the aid demanded by him, the regents summoned a great council to which each shire was directed to send as its representatives two chosen knights. From this time on to 1295 the practice of summoning chosen representatives of the shires to the great council grew in frequency. And in his famous parliament of 1265, Simon de Montfort inaugurated an extension of the principle by summoning representatives from the cities and boroughs, as well as those from the shires. Again to the great council of Edward I. in 1295, the representatives of the towns as well as the shires were summoned,—and since that time attendance of representatives from both shires and towns has been practically continuous. This council may thus be said to mark the point at which the principle of *representation* of the third estate of the realm in a national parliament secured an undisputed place in the English constitution. The ancient practice of the townships of sending up the "reeve and four select men" to represent them in the larger areas of *local government* endured through all the processes of feudalization, through all the modifications wrought by the Conquest, and through the centralization that followed, until it finally widens into the practice of sending representatives to the national parliament; thus establishing itself as a part of the machinery of the *national government*, and working out the solution of the problem of how small tribes may develop into a great nation without sacrificing the essentials of self-government.

In the primitive Teutonic constitution, when the state was a small aggregation, the legislative organ was the assembly of all the freemen. It was only when the principles of feudalism had modified the character of the state that this popular assembly,—the old institution known to early Greek and Roman, as well as to the later Teuton—dwindled into the small aristocratic body of the king's feudal vassals. The re-entrance, then, of the *representatives* of the shires and towns into the king's council, the parliament of the nation, was only the restoration to the people of the prerogative that had once been theirs. And it came back to them the more easily, because in their local government the machinery of representation had never been discarded.

In the centuries that have followed since Edward I, the successors to the representatives of the shires and the towns, then invited to confer with the king and his great council, touching affairs of state, have transformed themselves from advisors into dictators. Beginning as suppliants they have ended as masters. The whole process is thus concisely summed up by Mr. Taylor: "The way in which the nation worked out this result was by building up alongside of the older national assembly a new body, composed of the representatives of the local self-governing communities, which, from humble beginnings, won first the right to participate in taxation, then to participate in legislation, then to impeach the ministers, and finally to participate in the control of the royal administration, and in the deposition of the king himself. The whole process is one of struggle and of growth. At the outset, '*Vos humbles, pauvres communs prient et supplient pour Dieu et en auvre de charité,*' that their petitions may be granted. Next they establish the principle that not until their grievances, as set forth in their petitions, are redressed will they grant the supplies expected of them. With this weapon in their hands they next claim the right to examine the royal accounts, to regulate the royal expenditures, and to hold responsible to themselves the ministers, who in earlier days answered not to the nation, but to the king. The final result of this process, which has only been fully worked out

in our own time, has been a virtual transfer of the fiscal, political and administrative powers of government from the king and his council to the representatives of the people."

The representatives of the commons have gradually grown in power until they dominate the aristocratic chamber, to which they at first seemed to be only an appendage, until they even dominate the royal power which nominally created them, and until, "under the ancient and still useful forms of the throne and the regalia, the people is king."

CHARLES P. NEILL.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF CALDERON.

While preparing a bibliography for the study of the influence of Calderon upon Dryden, I found—with much surprise—that out of one hundred and twenty formal plays, seventy *autos*, and some *entremeses*,¹ as near as can be determined, only sixteen that were wholly translated into English, and a few others analyzed or partially put into our own tongue. Of the prose works,² which are of little value, mention is seldom made. In various conversations upon literary subjects, and in my search for critical or commentative articles upon the plays of Calderon, I discovered that even these few translations were very little known.

It seems that we have overlooked in great measure the influence of the Spanish upon many of our own writers. During the time of the renaissance in England, under the Tudors, travellers brought back into their own country the literature of Italy, France, and Spain. English writers borrowed the manner, and often took over the incidents of these books of other lands. “We must say that the European drama is saturated with the Spanish influence. Take from the French, and from Beaumont and Fletcher and their contemporaries, from Dryden, Congreve, Wycherly, Shadwell, from Goldoni, Nota, Giraud, and others, all that they borrowed directly or indirectly from Spain, and you beggar them in respect to situation and incident.”³

It is not to be wondered at that most English readers are satisfied with the knowledge that his works were classics ; his plays are not for the latter-day fancy; yet it is a mistake on the part of students of the older English drama to pass him by without consideration. He is valuable to us for his influence on Dryden and the older dramatists, and for his own great-

¹ Spanish Literature. Fitzmaurice Kelly, p. 320.

² A treatise on the dignity of painting, in Mariano Nifo's “Cajon de Sastre Literato.”

³ The Spanish Drama. G. H. Lewes. London : 1846, p. 6.

ness. In the histories of the Spanish literature he is held forth as the leader of an epoch whose writings hold in concrete form the spirit of the supreme age of a great country. We are told that after he died, "as the swan, singing," a new and lesser period began.

Beyond the histories of Spanish literature,¹ the few general references to him and his times,² and some few selections in general compilations of literature,³ most readers have little knowledge of him and his work.

In Germany the Schlegels⁴ undertook to bring Calderon before the people. They sang his praises with, perhaps, a little too much ardor, yet with much truth. Among the German commentators are Malsburg, Gries, the Schmidts, and Schultze. There is, besides, a goodly list of translators. Though the French lament that they have so few of Calderon's plays in their own language, they can yet boast of having more than we.

In English, so far as I have been able to determine, the plays or *autos* that have been translated wholly or partially are included in the appended list—with one or two additions—prepared by Denis Florence MacCarthy, and prefixed to the first of his two volumes of "Dramas, translated principally in the metre of the original."⁵

¹ Histories of Ticknor, Schaak, Kelly, Sismondi, Bouterwek, Lemcke and Chasles.

² Catholic World. Vol. XXXIII. Calderon de la Barca. M. F. Egan.

³ Library of the World's Best Literature, Vol. VII, p. 3071, Calderon, by Maurice Francis Egan.

⁴ Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature, by August Wilhelm Schlegel, p. 501. Translated by John Black.

⁵ Quarterly Review, Vol. XXV, Amigo Amante y leal; El Principe Constante. Blackwood's Magazine: Agradacer y no Amar; La Devocion de la Cruz, Vol. XVIII; El Maestro de Danzar, Vol. XX: La Dama Duende, Vol. XLVII. Monthly Magazine: La Vida es Sueño, Vol. XCVI. Monthly Chronicle: La Vida es Sueño, Vol. III; El Magico Prodigioso, Vol. VI; El Magico Prodigioso, translated in part by Shelley: The Spanish Drama, G. H. Lewes, London, 1846. Irish Catholic Magazine, Dublin, 1847: El Purgatorio de San Patricio, Vol. I. Justina (El Magico Prodigioso) a play translated from the Spanish of Calderon de la Barca, by J. H. (D. F. MacCarthy). Dublin University Magazine: El Secreto a Voces, Vol. XXXII; Amar despues de la Muerte, Vol. XXXVI; El Medico de su Honra, Vol. XXXVIII; El Principe Constante, Vol. XXXVIII; La Banda y la Flor, Vol. XXXIX. Fraser's Magazine: Los tres Mayores Prodigios, Vol. XL. Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature. Westminster Review, Vol. LIV. Hallam's Introduction to the Literature of Europe. Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe, translated by Thomas Roscoe. Bouterwek's History of Spanish Literature, translated by Thomasina Ross. Spanish Literature, by Alexander Forster. Six Dramas of Calderon, translated by Edward Fitzgerald. Select Plays of Calderon, Norman MacColl. Life and Genius of Calderon, R. C. Trench. Spanish Literature; Fitzmaurice Kelly.

These translations, though few in number, enable us to understand something of Calderon's merit and the spirit of the plays and of the time in which he wrote, when his *autos* or religious plays were put before the people with all the pomp and pageantry possible. The drama was fulfilling the end for which it was called into existence and the country stood in the brightest light of its history. It was the only popular literature outside of the songs and folklore that have always been with the people.

The English language owes much to Denis Florence MacCarthy for those plays of Calderon, which it holds under the spell of its own words. When he published his first translation, *Justina*, from the Spanish of "El Magico Prodigioso," he said that nowhere had he been able to discover any other of Calderon's plays in English. He is, in truth, the only English student of Calderon. In all he has published ten plays in book form, and has executed several partially for various magazines, besides having given us much valuable criticism. In a letter to him—if we may accept personal letters as literary or critical documents—George Ticknor, author of "The History of the Spanish Literature", writes, "In your translations the Spanish seems to come through to the surface; the original air is always perceptible in your variations. It is like a family likeness coming out in the next generation, yet with the freshness of originality."

If Ticknor's opinion is to be considered of any value,—and it certainly should be as that of one of the most earnest students of Spanish literature,—MacCarthy has grasped what the translator should first seek to grasp, the spirit of the original. It is the soul of which the language and the form are but the physical accompaniments,—the body, if you choose; and every one knows the difficulty of discerning closely a man's character. The spirit is Calderon himself, though it cannot entirely be separated from the words, the aroma of Spain, without at least suffering some distortion. The translation can never be more than the copy; and no matter how near the artist may come to the master himself, there will always be some turn of the brush, some shade of color, that will tell us that it is a copy. The spirit is the element of universality in the author; the

words are the material, sectional, limited part man must have recourse to for the sake of expression. The spirit is the approach to the absolute, so far as man can approach the absolute without becoming divine ; the words are relative, subject to the changes of time and place.

It is impossible for us to express the spirit of an author in a language different from that in which he has written without losing something due to the differences of tongues and their relativity. Words and colors are never handled with the same skill by two men. Yet it would be absurd for us to condemn all copies for this reason. If we cannot see the originals, copies give us some opportunity of enjoying the work of art that cannot be scattered broadcast like printed books among people of the same tongue. And if we do not possess the key of language that unlocks the door of a literature of a people, there is no reason why we should rush heedlessly by without learning of those that have come out what manner of thing lies within. MacCarthy, if we are to believe Ticknor, Longfellow and many others, has done a great work in helping us to see something of the stores of Calderon himself, and has been successful in giving us a close view.

I have chosen the following passage from "El Magico Prodigioso," because it contains something of the dramatic power of Calderon, and because it will enable me to show wherein lies the value of Shelley's translation, which has been looked upon with great favor by many writers :

Yo soy, pues saberlo quieres,
un epilogo, un assombro
de venturas, y desdichas,
que unas pierdo, y otros lloro ;
tan gallan fui por mis partes,
por mi lustre tan heroyco,
tan noble por mi linage,
y por mi ingenio tan docto,
que aficionado a mis prendas
un Rey, el mayor de todos,
puesto que todos le temen,
si le vén airado al rostro,
en su Palacio cubierto
de dimantes y pyropos,
y aun si los llamasse estrellas,
fuerá el hyperbole corto :
me llama Valido suyo,

cuyo aplauso generoso
me dió tan grande soberbia,
que competí al Regio Solio,
queriendo poner las plantas
sobre sus dorados Tronos.
Fue barbero atrevimiento,
castigado lo conozco,
loco anduve, pero fui
arrepentido mas loco.”¹

The music of this verse is unlike anything in English. The tetrameters that MacCarthy uses are the nearest approach. One will notice also the periodic stress at the end of each line whereby the *assonante* is given a prominence over the other words of the line. This manner of rhyme, according to Lord Holland, is “a word which resembles another in the vowel on which the last accent falls, as well as the vowel or vowels that follow it; but every consonant after the accented vowel must be different from that in the corresponding syllable.” In the quoted passage it will be noticed that the last word of every second line beats upon the vowel sound *o*, as exemplified in the words, *assombro*, *lloro*, *heroyco*, *docto*, *todos*, *rostro*, but that the consonantal sounds differ, according to the requirements of the rules for assonance. In the following speech of Circe, in “Love the Greatest Enchantment” (*El Mayor Encanto Amor*), MacCarthy has attempted to introduce the *assonante* into his translation :

“ Here,—where Spring has call’d together
In this bright and beauteous garden
Her sweet parliament of flowers
To swear fealty to the fairest,
To their queen, the rose, who wears
Her imperial purple mantle,
Dyed in the blood of Venus fair,—
I await thee, pride and marvel
Of all Greece, until the chase
Circles o’er our northern lands here,
Which will be when sinks the sun
With his burning beams abated.
Here with songs and festive music
I await thee, that the absence
And the memory of thy country,
Thus amused, may not unman thee.”

¹ Comedias del celebre poeta español, Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca, etc. Que saca a luz Don Juan Fernandez de Apontes, y las dedica al mismo Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca, etc. En la Oficina de la Viuda de Don Manuel Fernandez, è Imprenta del Supremo Consejo de la Inquisicion. Año de 1762. Tomo octavo, p. 336.

Here, if the attempted assonance were not pointed out, it would pass unnoticed by the ordinary reader, so insignificant does it appear in English verse. Moreover, if it were natural to, or even could be well introduced into our own language, the translator would not have entered into so hopeless a search for a list of words with a similarity of vowel sounds and a difference of consonantal sounds. The words in which the assonance lies are *garden*, *fairest*, *mantle*, *marvel*, *lands here*, *abated*, *absent*, *unman thee*, in which,—if the assonance were perfect,—all the vowel sounds would be like the *a* and the *e* in *garden*.

As it is, the English verse maker finds his lot a hard one in his search for rhymes; to make assonance an adjunct of verse is next to impossible, as is clearly shown in the quoted passage. We might say that rhymes are almost unnatural to English, and we can be quite sure in saying that assonance is opposed to it. In the Romance languages there is an abundance of clear, similar vowel sounds, not to speak of the rhymes that are possible. The Spanish or Italian poet does not reach out for them; they come to him as he writes. But in English one must struggle even for the eight rhymes of the sonnet octave, and to continue an assonance through fifty lines of verse leaves him in a desert before the twenty-fifth line is written. Yet MacCarthy is to be given credit for the work he has done for us. We not only have the spirit of Calderon, but we have a shadow of the form in which he wrote.¹

¹The following translation of the passage from "El Magico Prodigioso" is my own, made as nearly literal as possible, for the purpose of comparison:

"I am, since you seek to know,
an epilogue, a dread,
of fortunes and misfortunes,
of which I forget some and others I bewail.
So gallant was I for my parts,
for my polish so heroic,
so noble in my lineage,
and for my ingenuity so learned,
that, inspired by my accomplishments,
a King—the greatest of all—
who made all fear him
if he (became angry in the face) frowned
in his Palace roofed
with diamonds and carbuncles
even as if the stars flamed,—
without the least exaggeration,—
He chose me his counsellor.
Which generous praise

Calderon, taken even without the garnishings of Shelley, shows a beauty that should tempt us to look further into his works. Scattered through his *comedias* and *autos* are exquisite lyrics, rich in color and fancy, that are universally valuable and should be known to every language.

The following translation of MacCarthy's is not to be taken as an example of his best work. "El Magico Prodigioso" was the first play done into English at a time when Calderon was little known to us. In his later work he has done much in the way of improvement, and has had more success in adhering more closely to the text and in giving us much better verse. To the ear accustomed to English verse the tetrameters seem to be tinkling and frolicsome, and altogether too undignified for dramatic metre. For the same reason, in reading the short, lightsome metres of the Spanish, we are too slow to acknowledge the beauty of the poetry. But to the Spanish ear the verse of Calderon's plays is what the blank verse of Shakespere's is to us, and to condemn the metre as unsuited to the thought would be entirely wrong. The first impression one has of MacCarthy's verse is ill-received; but with a careful reading of his later and better translation one will come to understand it better, and, thereby, understand the form as well as the spirit of the *comedias*.

" Of wonders, events, and of woes,
I'm a calendar great and rare;
The mem'ry of some I can lose,
With others I grieve in despair.
For talent and polish so known;
A hero quite perfect in splendour;
By my birth full brightly I shone,
In knowledge to none would surrender.
A King—who is greatest of ail,
And awfully feared when around
Him his looks all frowningly fall,
If angry his temper is found.
When seated on his sparkling throne,

gave me so great haughtiness
that I competed for the Royal Seat
in seeking to place my boast
above his gilded thrones.
I was in my wild audacity
punished for the attempt.
I acted madly, but would be more mad repentant."

All decked with glittering diamonds bright,
And every shining stone,
That like the stars make glad the night ;
For stars no brighter shine I ween,
And faint my simile and mean :—
His favourite made me.—So full
Of conceit with this royal mark,
I thought myself all-powerful ;
And dared upon a deed embark,
To place myself upon his throne ;
And I defied his royal power,
And thought to make his crown my own.
Oh, it was rash ! I rue the hour !
I mad became ; but madder still
Would have been had I repented.”

Considered in itself this seems to have little beauty. From our point of view the simple prose translation is better ; it sounds more serious to the ear ; it is stripped of the apparent bombast or air of flippancy that is suggested by the form of expression. On our own comic opera stage, “A hero quite perfect in splendor” would be admirably suited to a coxcomb smothered ridiculously in silks or satins and gay ribbons. In the Spanish it is different. Where we cannot eliminate the associations that make the verse a travesty, they have associations that fill it out to a full picture. The Spaniard’s life is full of the color that he loves : his nature is warmer and more impulsive. He goes into raptures where the unmoved Anglo-Saxon only smiles. The spangles and marked colors of the actor’s costume appear in good taste in the strong glare of the footlights ; on the street they would be ludicrous. So do the translations MacCarthy has made of Calderon’s plays, appear in the true light to those that understand and consider the time, the country and the people for whose tastes he wrote.

It might be contended that MacCarthy was wrong to put the plays into a metre unfit for them. Of this he says the following : “ It is by no means my intention to enter into the oft-debated question as the principle which should guide or coerce the translator in his task. As far as the translator is concerned, it is a much easier thing to produce a popular and flowing version of any foreign poem or play than a faithful and exact one ; and the effect to be produced will so depend upon the capacity and culture of the reader,—whether, in a

word, he will have his German or Spanish so thoroughly ‘done into English’ as to have every particle of its original nature eliminated out of it, or will have it faithfully presented to him with all its native peculiarities preserved,—is so much a matter of taste, that no definite rule can be arrived at in the matter.” This is a subject for a discussion of translations only.

Shelley, who had a great admiration for Calderon, said in one of his letters that he was “tempted to throw over their perfect and glowing forms the grey veil” of his own words. Whether or not he meant that in putting them into English he must make them less fantastic or more suited to the sober, calm Anglo-Saxon temperament, he has done it in part. It is to be regretted that he did not go further into the work than to translate only some scenes of “*El Magico Prodigioso*.” He has made it great in our own language, a thing of beauty ; but it would be unwise for us to accept it as Calderon’s own. Shelley has breathed into it his own art, and has used with much advantage the subtleties of expression that Calderon was not able to use. The warmth and color of Calderon roused Shelley’s own thoughts, and his own self took flame from the fire of the one he was to transcribe.

“ Since thou desirest, I will then unveil
Myself to thee ;—for in myself I am
A world of happiness and misery ;
This I have lost and that I must lament
Forever. In my attributes I stood
So high and so heroically great,
In lineage so supreme, and with a genius
Which penetrated with a glance the world
Beneath my feet, that won by my high merit
A king—whom I may call the King of Kings,
Because all others tremble in their pride
Before the terrors of his countenance,
In his high palace roofed with brightest gems
Of living light—call them the stars of heaven—
Named me his counsellor. But the high praise
Stung me with pride and envy, and I rose
In mighty competition to ascend
His seat, and place my foot triumphantly
Upon his subject thrones. Chastised I know
The depth to which ambition falls ; too mad
Was the attempt, and yet more mad were now
Repentance of the irrevocable deed.”

Here, Shelley does not tamper with the main thought and insert conceits of his own ; but he takes the main thought into his own hands and touches it here with a master touch ; it is the old drapery hung over again in a different room with newer folds and better light to bring its various colors into harmony ; it is the old picture newly framed and retouched with a skillful brush with dark lines to bring out the detail more clearly.

It is the English Calderon which English readers may enjoy through the medium of their own dramatic verse, through their own gray veil. Yet when the reader has finished, does he know of the color, the so-called "rodomontade" of the Spanish poet ? The form being so near to the spirit and clinging so closely to it, it is quite impossible to take one from the other without injury. And if we read Calderon in blank verse, we fail to catch much of the Spanish temperament because we do not see the short, periodic verses so expressive of it.

Edward Fitzgerald, who has translated six of the "lesser" dramas, does not show the quality of faithfulness to the original that characterizes MacCarthy's work, nor has he given to his work the power and fineness that Shelley gave to his. He despairs, as he says in the preface of the book, of making a successful translation of the poet. "I do not believe an exact translation of this poet can be very successful ; retaining so much that, whether real or dramatic, Spanish passion is still bombast to English ears."

He offers the following reasons for the variations in his own translation :—"Choosing, therefore, such less famous plays as still seemed to me suited to English taste, and to that form of verse in which our dramatic passion prefers to run, I have, while faithfully trying to retain what was fine and efficient, sunk, reduced, altered and replaced much that seemed not, simplified some perplexities, and curtailed or omitted scenes that seemed to mar the breadth of general effect." If Fitzgerald wrote with the object of pleasing the public fancy, he could not have done better. Yet if I founded my appreciation of Calderon upon his translations, what would be the value of my opinions ? Must I judge a man only by those characteristics that seem valuable from my point of view ? Must I condemn the actors of the play because they do not wear the

kind of clothes I wear or that seem proper to me? The figure that applies in the following verse, taken from one of Fitzgerald's "Six Dramas of Calderon," can be applied here:

"He who far off beholds another dancing,
Even one who dances best, and all the time
Hears not the music that he dances to,
Thinks him a madman, apprehending not
The law that rules his else eccentric action.
So he that's in himself insensible
To love's sweet influence, misjudges him
Who moves according to love's melody;
And knowing not that all these sighs and tears,
Ejaculations and impatiences,
Are necessary changes of the measure,
Which the divine musician plays, may call
The lover crazy; which he would not do
If he within his own heart heard the tune
Played by the great musician of the world."

Evidently Fitzgerald believed that his readers did not hear the music that guided the motion of the dancer; they did not or could not understand the influences of time, people, climate and surroundings that the Spanish dramatist was susceptible to. If he believed aright—which is a question to be answered elsewhere—the unfortunate readers can do no better than to catch a glimpse of Calderon through Fitzgerald's blank verse; and they must be satisfied with a very limited knowledge of his plays. Not judging by severe laws, however, the work is valuable for its own beauties, the reflection of the beauties of the original, which we must put up with as almost as much as any translator can do.

In "The Life and Genius of Calderon" Dean Trench has made some translations which are of little value. As to the form,—in so far as the Spanish form can be imitated in English,—they are good; but the color is lost and Calderon appears in rather prosaic, lifeless tetrameters. Trench did not understand the spirit of Calderon; he looked upon him as a religious fanatic; he saw only the face without being able to understand the soul. Moreover, Trench was not poet enough to deal familiarly with the muse of Calderon, whose music, accordingly, he could not transfer to his own verse.

In consideration of all these attempts to reproduce the works of the great dramatist in the English language, the

question arises as to the possibilities of prose translations. The Spanish dramatic form is so alien to our own that, in trying to gain a good understanding of the *comedias* and *autos*, we cannot prescind from it. Yet to know the form we must go to the original ; all copies of it are inadequate ; the periodic seven-syllable or eight-syllable lines, the assonances,—of which I found as many as one hundred and seventy-three in one series—the multitudinous rhymes, are not known to the English ear. In forcing the idea to fit the tetrameters and the attempted assonance, much is shaven off that may be valuable to its comprehension. This does not necessarily happen in the broad prose version, where no compression of thought is needed to fit the metre.

If we take it that the reader is wholly unable to study the poetic form in Calderon's own work, that translation which attempts to give both form and spirit is the best. If we accept the reader as one that knows enough of Spanish verse forms, and Spanish temperament and surroundings, to understand the dramatic verse, the prose version is the most valuable. As it stands, Calderon has had so little interest for the English-speaking people that this question must remain of secondary importance until he comes to be better known.

ELMER MURPHY.

BOOK REVIEWS.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

1. **Etudes d' Histoire et d' Archéologie**, par Paul Allard. Paris: Lecoffre, 1899, 8vo, pp. 436.
2. **The Homeric Palace**, by Norman Morrison Isham, A. M., Architect. Providence: The Preston and Rounds Co., 1898, 8vo, pp. 62, with eleven illustrations.
3. **Notes on Mediæval Services in England**, with an index of Lincoln Ceremonies, by Chr. Wordsworth, A. M. London: Thomas Baker, 1898, 8vo, pp. 313.
4. **The Graphic Art of the Eskimos**, by Walter James Hoffman, M. D., Honorary Curator of the Ethnological Museum, Catholic University of America. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897, 8vo, pp. 219.

1. Few disciples of De Rossi have done more to make known his labors than Paul Allard. In his admirable "Histoire des Persécutions" (5 vols., Paris, Lecoffre, 1885-1890) he has outlined with a sure hand the main features of the public and private sufferings of the Christians from Nero to Diocletian. In his "Esclaves Chrétiens" and "Esclaves, Serfs et Mainmportables," he has sketched in a way at once popular and learned the institution of ancient slavery as it was modified by Christian influences, and was later on transformed into various shades of serfage. His facile pen has also produced a most readable book on pagan art under the Christian emperors. In these essays he offers us a bouquet of choice erudition culled from his favorite field of early Christian life and habits,—ancient philosophy and slavery, collegiate teaching in ancient Rome, the origin of the papal library and archives, the newly found house of the Roman martyrs John and Paul, rural properties from the fifth to the ninth centuries, a critique of Boissier's "End of Paganism," a necrology of De Rossi. Such essays illuminate splendidly the pages of ordinary church history, and are to be recommended to all studious youth, both lay and ecclesiastical. They are written with grace and feeling, with a certain preoccupation as to their modern uses, with sound knowledge and approved methods, and without too great a show of authorities, sources, and the like. In the essay on the Origins of our Christian Civilization,

which is a review of Kurth's famous book, the reader will find the marrow of that work extracted with so much skill that he will scarcely need to read the original in order to grasp its conclusions and principal lines of proof.

2. Mr. Isham undertakes in this elegantly executed monograph to reconstruct a royal dwelling of the Homeric time—"its situation, approaches and defences, its internal arrangements (courts, women's apartments, baths, passages, armory, treasury, etc.), construction, decoration and external appearance." This is done by the study of the late excavations at Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns and elsewhere, as well as by the intelligent reading of the Homeric poems themselves, or rather by a combination of both, pretty much as De Rossi was wont to study the catacombs by the light of the earliest Christian literature. Several plates illustrate the argument, which is that of the archæologists Tsountas and Manatt. What might have been a dry academic presentation of an interesting theme, becomes in the hands of a practical architect as fascinating as intelligible. In plate X, for instance, the reader grasps at a glance the evolution of a natural stronghold like Tiryns from a bare hill-top to a great irregular fortress, with outer walls and inner citadel, and all the barbaric pomp of a day when flocks and herds and the "swift black ship" made up the riches of a Greek chieftain.

3. A prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral has rendered good service by the publication of this volume of mediæval English liturgical antiquities, especially such as concern the service of the divine office and the Mass in parochial and cathedral churches. Here is quite a picture of ancient ecclesiastical England,—the celebration of matins, the public Mass, with its preparation, processions, ceremonies, the choristers and canons, their manners and meals, the evensong, the curfew, the condition of the church close or precincts, and a hundred other curious and forgotten details. Apropos of the follies and misdemeanors that in time discredited certain services, the author remarks with discrimination that "such improprieties were exceptional We may trust that not a few holy and useful lives were lived beneath the shadow of our cathedral churches in mediæval times, as in our own days; for while offenders gain notoriety the good and orderly are less observed." On pp. 44, 45 is given the arrangement of the office for the ferias in Lent, whereby it is seen that on these days Vespers followed the Mass of the day. This explains the "Evening Mass" of Shakespeare (*Romeo and Juliet*, IV, 1), about which so much has been written. "It was in connection with such arrangements when Mass on the fast was followed closely by Vespers before bodily refection was taken, that the rubries inform us that *thus endeth the order for Mass and Evensong together*. So it was that poor

Juliet offered to come to Friar Laurence "at evening Mass" on that unlucky Tuesday, presumably a vigil, as the proposed wedding with Paris was to be on a Wednesday or Thursday not in Lent. Canon Wordsworth in a note inserts the following passages from the play, suggested by Dr. Legg, to show the exact date of that evening Mass:

" Was it before Pentecost ?

Come Pentecost as quickly as it will,

Act I, sc. V, 35.

No, it was summer ;

The day is hot, the Capulets abroad.

Act III, sc. II, 2"

" It was only a fortnight to Lammas (Juliet's birthday being Lammas eve).

Lady Capulet : How long is it now to Lammas-tide ?

Nurse : A fortnight and odd days.

Therefore, the evening Mass was on St. James's eve, July 24th, the only vigil or fast day on which they could have an evening Mass in the last half of July."

The greater part of this charming volume is taken up with a *catalogue raisonné* of various articles of church furniture and customs, whose names have been gathered from the thirty-five volumes of the Chapter Acts of Lincoln (1305-1876), and from other documents pertaining to the muniments of the chapter. These two hundred pages bring before us in great detail the course of public service in Catholic England,—the high altars, ambries, belfries and bell-ringers, lavatories, lecterns, piscinas, pixes, tabernacles, and a multitude of objects yet familiar to us, as well as many long since dropped from memory, like "querecope," "custuraria," "malanderie," etc.

4. Dr. Walter Hoffman, the honorary curator of our ethnological museum, and presently consul at Mannheim in Germany, places before us in this monograph a very detailed study of the collection of Eskimo etchings or picture-writings now possessed by the United States National Museum. These rude engraving are usually on walrus ivory, though horn, bone, wood, metal, the skins of animals, and even the human skin (tattooing) are often resorted to for graphic purposes. The human figure is very imperfectly done, but the reindeer, the seal, the walrus, boats, and other objects are often seized with vigor and truth. On the strips of ivory they represent domestic avocations, habits, and conveyances, utensils, preparation of food, pastimes, games, travel, combats, hunting, fishing, gestures of all kinds. It is quite a little world of primitive art that is here revealed with great accuracy and thoroughness of description. Dr. Hoffman gives us in these pages an enlarged chapter of his famous "Beginnings of Writing" (Appleton, New York : 1895), and contributes therewith a valuable addition to the annals of American archaeology. The University is indebted to him for a very attractive ethnological museum, whose collections he has arranged in the most serviceable manner.

SCRIPTURE AND CHURCH HISTORY.

Die Alexandrinische Übersetzung des Buches Daniel,
Freiburg: B. Herder, 1897, 8vo., xii-218.

This remarkable study by Dr. Bludau on the Alexandrine Version of the book of Daniel is one of a series of monographs of rare merit contributed by some of the foremost scholars of Catholic Germany, and published under the direction of Dr. Bardenhewer, of Munich, in the "Biblische Studien" (Herder, Freiburg). This study is worthy of special attention, on account of the author's ripe scholarship, his scientific methods, his careful treatment of the subject, and his exhaustive discussion of one of the most complicated themes of Old Testament criticism.

As is well known, the Alexandrine translation of the Old Testament is not only the first in time and importance, but also the most famous of the translations of the Hebrew Bible. It was the Bible used by our Lord, by His Apostles, by the Jews both before and after the time of Christ, by nearly all Christians in the early Church, and is still the standard text in the Greek Church, both Catholic and Orthodox. It is generally called the "Septuagint" or the "Bible of the Seventy," either because it was supposed to have been translated by seventy interpreters sent down by the High Priest from Jerusalem to Alexandria for that purpose, or because it was sanctioned by some Jewish council or Sanhedrim consisting of seventy members after the fashion of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, or because the name "Septuagint" belonged to the famous library for which this version was made and then passed over to as its greatest treasure, or for some other reason.

There is at most but a grain of truth in the fabulous story of the origin of this version, as told by Aristobulus, Aristaeas, Josephus, and accepted by some of the fathers of the early Church. Hence, laying aside fable and legend, we may suppose that this famous translation was made very much as follows. Shortly after Alexander the Great, by whom it was founded, Alexandria became a centre of Jewish religious life, commercial enterprise, and intellectual activity. As the Jews of the Dispersion resident there soon forgot Hebrew and readily learned Greek, they felt the need of a Greek translation of their canonical books, especially of the first five, containing the Law of Moses. Accordingly the Pentateuch was first translated.

Internal evidence shows that this work must have been done by several translators, and that they were Alexandrine Jews. The remaining books, being less necessary than the Law of Moses, were rendered into Greek only at a later period. In fact, it is now generally admitted that the Septuagint was made by many translators of uncertain number, of

unequal skill and knowledge, of very different qualifications for the work. It seems, too, that for all we know they may have accomplished their very difficult task in different places and at irregular intervals of time, beginning with the Pentateuch about B. C. 280, and continuing with the remaining books till the completion of the work, about B. C. 180 or 170.

That many were engaged on this work may be inferred both from the character of the translation, which varies in the different books, and from certain ever-recurring words and phrases peculiar to some books and not to others. Some of the books are well and some are poorly translated. The Pentateuch is generally well rendered, especially Leviticus, also Exodus and Deuteronomy. Ecclesiastes is done so literally as to border on the obscure. Job and Jeremiah are wretchedly done, entire sentences being sometimes omitted or inserted, either because the translator did not understand them or because he may have had before him a Hebrew text different from what we now possess.

But the worst of all is Daniel. The Greek of this book contains so many and so remarkable divergences from the Hebrew as to excite the surprise even of the casual reader. In fact, the interpolations, mutilations, mistranslations and paraphrases are so important, especially in certain chapters, that at a very early date, even as early as the time of Irenaeus (died about A. D. 202), the Christian Church discarded the Septuagint Greek and in its stead substituted the Version of Theodotion, both in the Greek bibles and in the liturgy. St. Jerome confesses that he did not understand the reason that prompted this change, "Hoc, cur acciderit, nescio." Dr. Bludau seems to admit that one reason for this substitution was that the Version of Theodotion makes it easier to give a Messianic character to the prophecy of the seventy weeks of years (Daniel, IX, 24-27). No doubt the example of Origen, who preferred the Version of Theodotion to every other, was largely instrumental in effecting the change.

Dr. Bludau is of opinion that some Hellenistic Jew, observing the many imperfections of the Daniel of the Septuagint, undertook to correct it by comparing it with the Hebrew or the Aramaic. His work, which was rather a recension than a translation, was simply revised by Theodotion, and for some time all three forms of the Greek Daniel were independently in circulation, till all became in some way inexplicably mixed up. This opinion, if true, would explain the readiness with which the recension of Theodotion was received by the entire Christian Church and is still retained in the liturgical books of the Catholic Church for her Greek rite, and in the Orthodox Greek Church.

Meanwhile, the Septuagint version of this book, discarded and discredited, passed so entirely out of use, that for centuries it was supposed

to have been irreparably lost, until, towards the close of the last century, one solitary manuscript copy of it was discovered in the Chigi Library at Rome and published by de Magistris in 1772. It has frequently been published since then, especially by Cozza-Luzi (Rome, 1877,) and by Bludau, (Münster, 1890).

Now, it is precisely this Septuagint version of Daniel that Dr. Bludau has made the theme of his very interesting dissertation. Nor is it an easy task at this late date to determine from mere internal evidence, the cause of the profound divergences from the original that this version presents. (1) Did the Greek translator have before him a Hebrew text different from the one we now possess and since lost or transformed into the present text? Or (2) Did he take liberties with an accurate Hebrew text, while in the act of rendering it into Greek, abridging, expanding, or otherwise corrupting it? Or (3) Did his translation, though originally faithful, subsequently undergo alterations at the hands of ignorant or malicious copyists? Or (4) Did he himself translate parts correctly, and then incorporate bodily into his work portions of a Greek translation already made, and badly, by some one else?

Dr. Bludau, in his exhaustive treatise, devotes separate sections to the discussion of the absolute value of the Septuagint version, of its value relative to the Hebrew, to the vicissitudes through which the Greek has passed, to its free renderings, its additions, its abridgments, its paraphrases, its rendering of names, proper, foreign, and divine, to its general features as a translation, and finally to the result of previous studies on this version. One long section is given to the remarkable Messianic prophecy contained in chapter IX, 24-27. In order that the reader may follow the investigation more easily, the Hebrew and the Greek text are printed in parallel columns and tabulated.

The relation existing between the Hebrew and the Greek is not everywhere the same. In chapters IV, V, VI especially, the amplifications, omissions, free translations, comments, are such that Dr. Bludau would be more inclined to consider the Greek a paraphrase than a translation. Hardly a verse agrees with the Hebrew, and many of the discrepancies are such as to disfigure the text and to change the sense very materially. "It must be acknowledged," he says, "that the translator has exceeded all bounds of liberty and has proceeded with unbridled license." . . . Hence, Dr. Bludau devotes to the examination of these three chapters as many sections of his book.

In conclusion he shows that not all the divergences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint need necessarily be ascribed to the bad faith or incompetency of the translator. In many instances, the Greek interpretation is preferable to that indicated by the Masoretic punctuation. But even when all due allowances are made for defects of translation likely

to happen at a time when neither grammars nor lexicons existed either in Greek or in Hebrew, it is manifest that the Greek translator, in many instances, performed his task execrably. This is true especially in the prophecy of the seventy weeks of years, where the numbers would seem to have been intentionally altered, though the general sense of the passage has not thereby been substantially changed.

Dr. Bludau suggests, though with much reserve, that the divergences referred to above may be traceable to the existence, in pre-Christian times, of two Semitic recensions of Daniel, the one Hebrew, the other Aramaic. Nor does it seem at all impossible that the Greek translator had before him an already existing Greek translation of several chapters badly made, which he appropriated and inserted bodily into his own without retouching; for it is not credible that the principal and final translator who is elsewhere so skilful and so faithful, would have taken so many liberties with a text which he himself translated. As is evident this hypothesis brings up the question of the unity of composition of even the Hebrew text, which, however, most critics have answered in the affirmative.

The other sections of this work are devoted to the discussion of the deuterocanonical fragments of Daniel, the histories of the three youths in the fiery furnace, the history of Susanna, of Bel and the Dragon. These fragments, the author thinks, may have existed originally in Hebrew or in Aramaic, or may have circulated independently of the book of Daniel.

Dr. Bludau shows the modesty of the true scholar by refraining from drawing too positive conclusions from facts and premises that might not warrant so high a degree of certainty. His critical skill, his sound judgment, his extensive reading, his vast erudition, displayed in the wealth of notes and references that adorn every page of his book, the exhaustive treatment of his theme in all its bearings, his familiarity with all the literature on the subject, ancient and modern, Catholic and non-Catholic, are qualifications which, when combined, make his monograph a model worthy of study and imitation, and a very valuable contribution to Biblical science. While strictly scientific and critical in its methods, this dissertation can be read with profit by the educated public, on account of its careful avoidance of technical terms and of all unnecessary display of erudition.

Outlines of New Testament History, by Rev. Francis E. Gigot, S. S.,
Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. John's Seminary, Boston. New
York: Benziger. 1898. 8°, pp. 366.

This manual of the first century of the history of the Church embraces the hundred years, more or less, from the birth of Jesus Christ to

the death of his favorite disciple, St. John—*anni mirabiles*, if ever there were, in which the old views of life and man were superseded, and a new moral consciousness given to the world that will never more permit it to sink into absolute degradation and disaggregation. Therefore, the teaching of the vicissitudes of this period, dim and dubious and wavering as their outlines may be, remains always the most important labor of the historian of the Church. For that reason this century, searching and critical above all, has expended more study on the origins of Christianity than on all the other periods of its splendid life. The human spirit, freed by the French Revolution from inherited respect or fear of authority, has acknowledged no bound to its natural curiosity and no intangible holiness in any accepted doctrine. So it casts the plummet of research on all sides and gazes eagerly on the faint traces that it brings back from the depths of time.

With the almost universal rejection of specific religious authority that marks our age, corresponds a reawakening of the conscience over against the most fundamental positions of the Christian system. Was Christ truly God? Did He really preexist? Was He more than the world's greatest enthusiast? Did He do more, or wish to do more, than to leave behind the ineradicable, universalized knowledge of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man? Was He, as Mahomet claimed, only the last of the prophets, and the splendid human link that binds all history in a higher mystic unity of tendency, effort, and general progress?

Did His apostles understand Him, and were they so hopelessly split on the binding force of the law, on the nature of Christ's message to humanity, that not one but two antagonistic societies arose after his death, the first self-centred at Jerusalem, and later at Rome, the other wandering through the Diaspora, revolving about Paul and his disciples until some nameless immortal genius found the formula of union ere the lines of division had become rigid with time? What was the share of the Gentile in the upbuilding of this society in its first stages? Did he modify it substantially, so that its doctrine and its constitution largely come from him and not from the first enthusiastic hearts that went about proclaiming ecstatically the good news of spiritual freedom and a new life in hope and faith and charity?

These are trenchant questions that arouse all the energies of the soul once the believer comes out from under the sheltering arms of authority and venerable tradition. But we can no more refuse to answer them than St. Paul refused to answer the questioners of Athens, among whom some may have been frivolous and idle scoffers at all moral earnestness, while others surely had long labored with premonitions of righteousness, responsibility, redemption. Until the world's history is closed, the

Christian society will be forever on trial as Christ himself was, and it can never hope to push away from its bar the multitude of men who come up with ever-new problems suggested by study or discoveries, or projecting themselves naturally out of trained reflection and observation.

The work of Father Gigot proceeds on the lines laid down in his "Outlines of Jewish History," and has the merits already mentioned, (*BULLETIN*, vol. IV, p. 276), sure learning, good arrangement of the material, and compactness. It is meant to be a popular book, but in a high order, and to stimulate an interest in the life of our Lord and the apostles. There is lacking a bibliography, something very necessary in a modern manual, which is so sententious that wider reading is frequently indispensable. Then, too, the figures of Christ and the apostles have been in this century the object of so many wonderful books that the student ought to have at hand some sure guidance as to the nature and scope of the principal ones. A chapter on the sources of this period would be welcome to the student, notably some account of the discussions concerning the historic value of the Acts of the Apostles. Similarly, such a manual might well contain a description of Christian institutions drawn directly from the original materials of the first century, the New Testament, and certain other documents of equal antiquity. We are of opinion, moreover, that such manuals ought to be illustrated—they furnish an occasion to get many early Christian monuments before the general public. Finally, an account of the apocryphal literature concerning the apostles would not be out of place, given its antiquity and influence.

A good index and two maps accompany the book, which is well suited for introduction into colleges, academies, and convent schools as an historical catechism or hand-book of the lives of Christ and the apostles.

PHILOSOPHY.

The Groundwork of Science: A Study of Epistemology. St. George Mivart. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898. Pp. xv.—328.

The "Science Series" is edited by Professor Cattell of Columbia University, with the coöperation of F. E. Beddard, F. R. S., in Great Britain. According to the announcement, "each volume of the series will treat some department of science with reference to the most recent advances, and will be contributed by an author of acknowledged authority." The volume before us, the second of the series, fulfils both these promises. Its author enjoys a well-earned reputation as a scientist and as a philosopher. These qualities have been fairly tested in the great polemic of the past forty years; and the opponents, at least, of Mivart have appreciated his independent attitude. Whether we agree with him

or not, it must interest us to learn the *rationale* of his position, to know, in other words, what he regards as the groundwork of science.

This evidently must be sought in the human mind; for, numerous and diverse as the sciences may be, they have all been developed by mental activity. But to understand this development we have to inquire: What is the nature of the field wherein scientific laborers work? What are the tools which they must use? What qualifications must they possess?

The field of science has been repeatedly divided and subdivided, and various attempts have been made at classification. These our author regards as futile. "All the sciences are connected by such a labyrinth of interrelations that the construction of a really satisfactory classification of them appears to be an insuperable task." Accordingly, he contents himself with a mere enumeration, taking for granted the existence of a world of real and independent external bodies. But as this assumption is controverted by idealism, it is needful to show that the objects of science are not merely our subjective states. The spontaneous judgment of mankind, the dicta of our own mind and physical science itself vouch for the reality of an external world. The trouble with the idealists is that they fail to recognize the difference between sensation and intellectual perception, and mistake for inferences what are really intuitions. Avoiding these confusions, we are able to see that the objects of science are mental, physical and metaphysical, or, more briefly, that things and thoughts constitute the matter of science.

The tools which the scientist must employ are, first of all, the various organs of sense which supply material for the exercise of the higher faculties. But the finer instruments, the tools *par excellence*, are those fundamental principles which the intellect alone can furnish and use. Not a step can be taken in the cultivation of science without such convictions as the existence of certainty, the existence of an external world, our continuous substantial existence, the validity of the process of inference, the self-evidence of some truths, the principle of contradiction, the evidence of axioms, the principle of causation, the uniformity of nature, and the existence of necessity and contingency.

These principles, indeed, are involved in all scientific method, and are the guarantee of its validity. Abstract ideas, which make such principles possible, are the peculiar product of human faculty. They find their expression, not their origin, in that intellectual language which shows a difference of kind between man and the lower animals. And the ultimate ground of certainty, whatever principle or proposition we may be considering, is, and must be, its own intrinsic self-evidence. "All inquiries into the origin and causes of our convictions—whether they are gained by experience or innate, or dawning in the mind of the infant, or

only acquired at mental maturity, or brought forth from intelligence latent at birth, or brought forth by 'natural selection' from intelligence truly latent in our animal ancestors—are futile for Epistemology."

What, finally, are the qualifications necessary for successful labor in the field of science? "The one great requisite for the study and correct estimate of the nature of things external to ourselves, is true and accurate knowledge of our own." In our reflex self-consciousness, with its manifold activities, we find our ideal of unity. Each man who reflects knows that "in his consciousness the external and the internal meet and blend, and that in himself subject and object are identified." Thus confiding in our own reason and viewing without prejudice the phenomena of the universe, we discern therein the workings of an intelligence superior yet remotely analogous to our reason. "To it must be due that marvellous light shed upon our intelligence which enables us to know that such truths (first principles) are absolute, universal and necessary, objectively as well as subjectively."

The groundwork of science, therefore, may be thus defined: "It is the work of self-conscious, material organisms, making use of the marvellous intellectual first principles which they possess in exploring all the physical and psychical phenomena of the universe, which sense, intuition, and ratiocination can anyhow reveal to them as real existences whether actual or only possible."

This outline of Professor Mivart's work has, of necessity, touched only the more salient features. There are pages of close reasoning in the book which cannot well be summarized, and there are other pages in which the line of thought will be easily recognized by those who are familiar with his earlier volumes. The chapters entitled "An Enumeration of the Sciences" and "The Physical Antecedents of Science" are perhaps the least satisfactory portions of this study, though completeness seemed to demand them. Readers who have struggled with the subtleties of *Erkenntnisstheorie* will marvel—with relief or regret—at the plainness of Mivart's Epistemology. But the student of science who seeks a philosophical basis for his work and the student of philosophy who needs to bring his speculation into closer touch with science, will find in this "groundwork" much that is suggestive of a mutual understanding.

Human Immortality: Two Supposed Objections to the Doctrine.
William James. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
1898. Pp. 70.

By the will of Miss Caroline Haskell Ingersoll, who died in 1893, Harvard University received \$5,000 as a fund for the establishment of

a lectureship—one lecture to be delivered each year by a clergyman or layman of any profession and of any religious denomination on this subject, "The Immortality of Man."

The Ingersoll lecturer for 1898 is the well-known professor of philosophy at Harvard University. As the sub-title indicates, Professor James confines himself to the discussion of two objections. The first is "relative to the absolute dependence of our spiritual life, as we know it here, upon the brain." The second is "relative to the incredible and intolerable number of beings which, with our modern imagination, we must believe to be immortal, if immortality is true." In reply to the first, he admits that thought is a function of the brain; but the function is not, as the materialist claims, a production, it is rather a transmission. The brain is a thin place in the veil behind which is the absolute life of the universe. Cerebral activity, in varying degrees, lowers the obstruction and consciousness pours through in finite streams. When the brain stops acting, "that special stream of consciousness which it subserved, will vanish entirely from the natural world. But the sphere of being that supplied the consciousness would still be intact, and in that more real world with which, even whilst here, it was continuous, the consciousness might, in ways unknown to us, continue still." If this view accords with certain facts and philosophical speculations, it does not, as Professor James frankly admits, guarantee personal immortality—a phase of the question which he refuses to discuss. On the other hand he claims, in a note, that it is not necessary to identify the consciousness postulated in the lecture, as pre-existing behind the scenes, with the Absolute Mind of Transcendental Idealism; there might be many minds behind the scenes as well as one. "All that the transmission theory absolutely requires is that they should transcend our minds, which thus come from something mental that pre-exists, and is larger than themselves."

The lecturer, in fact, seems to favor some sort of plurality in the world of spirit, otherwise it would have been easy to cut the ground from under the second objection. If immortality means absorption into the world-mind, there can evidently be no question of an incredible and intolerable number of beings to shock our aristocratic sense of superiority. We will not feel the crowding because we, as *we*, are no longer. Instead, however, of taking this shorter route, Professor James lays the burden of the difficulty at the door of our incapacity. This notion of an overcrowded heaven is subjective and illusory. We measure the wants of the Absolute by our own puny needs, and because we have no use for these alien human creatures, we conclude that God Himself can have no use for them. In truth, "His scale is infinite in all things. His sympathy can never know satiety or glut." Taking this higher view,

"if we feel a significance in our own life, which would lead us spontaneously to claim its perpetuity, let us be at least tolerant of like claims made by other lives, however numerous, however unideal they may seem to us to be."

The theory advanced in this lecture is not void of historical interest. It reminds us, in its essential features, of opinions held by Plato and by the Arabian philosophers and discussed at length by St. Thomas in the *Contra Gentes*. In its present graceful form it raises the question for theists at any rate: If there may be *many* minds really existing, why keep them "behind the scenes?" It is surely more economical to conceive that the same mind known to us in consciousness is the mind that survives. And some readers of this lecture will be tempted to repeat, in a slightly different sense, the question that Professor James, in his *Principles of Psychology*, puts on their lips: "Why on earth doesn't the poor man say *the soul* and have done with it?"

La Notion de Temps d'après les principes de Saint Thomas D'Aquin,
par Désiré Nys. Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie. 1898.
Pp. 232.

This is the latest addition to the list of publications issued by the Philosophical Institute at Louvain, which, under the direction of Mgr. Mercier, has done so much to further the neo-scholastic movement. If it is important to present the teaching of St. Thomas in its entirety as a system, it is still more needful to develop it in detail; and Professor Nys renders good service by his study of a fundamental question. The three chapters into which his work is divided deal with (1) the nature of time, (2) the properties of time, (3) various theories concerning time.

The point of view is determined by the definition which St. Thomas adopted from Aristotle. Time, the measure of motion, is at once objective and subjective. Objectively, it is identical with motion, and therefore real; but its formal character, its timeness, so to say, is due to the action of our intelligence, which breaks up the continuous flux into parts and reunites these parts into a whole. From these principles are drawn certain distinctions which enable us to fix more accurately such properties of time as its unity, its value as a measure, its reversibility, relativity and limitations. The position of St. Thomas may be rightly termed moderate realism, and serves as a basis for criticising those theories which have swerved from the *via media* in the direction of extreme subjectivism or of exaggerated realism. To the former class belong the systems of Kant, Leibniz, Balmes, Descartes, Baumann, Locke and Spencer; to the latter, those of Gassendi, Clarke, Newton, and a few modern writers. This, of course, is the logical classification and serves the

author's purpose. It would, however, have set the teaching of St. Thomas in stronger relief if the historical development had been outlined. And, as the psychological aspect of the question is so important, some notice might have been taken of the experimental researches concerning the perception and estimate of time which form so conspicuous a portion of recent psychological literature. It is well at any rate to know that on this point, as on so many others, the peripatetic philosophy harmonizes with the facts and the demands of modern science.

Sagesse Pratique (*Pensées, Récits, Conseils*), by the R. P. Albert Maria Weiss, translated from the sixth German edition by l'Abbé L. Collin. Paris: J. Briguet, 1898. 8°, pp. 485.

The Dominican Father Weiss has produced in this book a very suggestive guide for youth. It contains solid instruction on many points that are to-day misunderstood or misrepresented. The doctrine is not developed in an academic way, but rather after a colloquial, aphoristic manner, with pertinent illustrations of story or anecdote. The titles of the twenty-five chapters will suffice to give the reader an idea of the valuable material they contain. It represents the experiences of a long and laborious life as writer, preacher, and educator. They treat of God, doubt and negation, truth, the mind, man, forbidden fruit, the world, Redeemer and redemption, Christianity, religion and faith, grace, the Church and salvation, Christian virtue, perfection, personal education, practical wisdom, the art of living, home and family, the art of education, economy, political and social, for home needs, public life, civilization and progress, humanity and history, death and judgment, eternity. There is a rich, but often sad, humor running through the book that makes it extremely readable. Those who have read the "Apology" of Father Weiss know that the style and argument are of equal charm.

SOCIOLOGY.

Elements of Sociology, by Franklin Giddings, Ph. D. New York Macmillan. 1898. Pp. 353. Price \$1.10.

Professor Giddings has given us in this work, a new text-book of sociology in which he presents "an elementary description of society in clear and simple scientific terms." He believes that schools and colleges should give much time to the nature and laws of human society. Convincing that many teachers share that view, he has written the Elements to meet the demand,

The author states that this is a new book, not a mere abridgment of his former writings. Nevertheless we find in it little that is not implied

or expressed in the Principles which he published some years ago. Both works are alike in assuming that the principles of sociology admit of logical organization, and in explaining association and social organization "as consequences of a particular mental state, namely, the consciousness of kind." Though there are many differences of detail, the new work really raises no new issue in theory, hence its appearance calls for no new discussion of the thesis of Professor Giddings. More particularly, since it has been thoroughly, and at times, severely discussed on former occasions. We may, however, review the work as a text-book and judge in how far it has the qualities which we seek in a manual.

In a general way, the condition of a science and its place in the educational system should largely control the making of a text-book. When a science is in the formative stage, problems dimly seen, laws largely unknown or disputed, relations to cognate sciences poorly understood, a text-book can be little more than an attempt. It should not venture beyond the lines of certainty. It may aim to guide a student, indicate the state of controversy, but it should not dogmatize. Men may theorize or speculate, but not in a text-book. Hypotheses should be labeled, at any rate, when used. On the other hand when a science is well developed, its phenomena seen with some exactness, fundamental truths and laws generally accepted by authorities, we require another style of text-book. It may be dogmatic as far as the science is well established; but again, it must be objective—captivated by no unproved theory.

One kind of text-book is suited to undergraduates, another to graduate students. In all cases the text-book should be marked by precision and logic. There must be exact and consistent use of terms; careful philosophical definitions. The more important must be discriminated from the less important, the former insisted upon, the latter insinuated merely. The book should honestly distinguish well-established truths and laws from hypothesis. Where controversy exists, it should be honestly stated and proper consideration given to authorities. The young man's mind is to be opened not to be closed. He is to be made an objective thinker, not a partisan. A good professor is, it is true, powerful in spite of text-books, but he is doubly strong with a perfect one,

Sociology is in a peculiar stage of development. Its place in our educational system is not yet by any means defined. In order to have an independent opinion of value on any of its fundamental problems we might say that one needs a wide knowledge of philosophy, biology, psychology, etc. Can the undergraduate successfully attempt it?

The science is not beyond the formative stage. Its relations to biology, anthropology, psychology, and economics; history, philosophy, the science of religions are extremely complicated, much disputed, and

poorly understood. Countless uncertainties cluster around nearly every fundamental question. What is society? Is there one elementary social phenomenon? What is it, if so? What is the unit of investigation? What is a social class? Authorities contradict one another at every step. A text-book in sociology, then, if it aim to be objective, exact, consistent should state as certain, what is certain, and represent as doubted what is questioned.

Professor Giddings' Elements follows a different line. The author has stated elsewhere "that the time has come when its principles (viz., of sociology) accurately formulated and adequately verified, can be organized into a coherent theory." (*Principles of Sociology*, p. 17.) Nevertheless, before making that statement he rejects the elementary social phenomena proposed by Gumplowicz, Novicow, DeGreef, Tarde, and Durkheim—each of them disagreeing with all the others (p. 14 *ibid.*). The average young man who begins his sociological reading with the Elements will get false impressions which may harm him permanently. The book hints at no doubt or controversy—it is merely devoted to the author's theory, which has not by any means won general recognition as final.

We have no intention to discuss the fundamental thesis of Professor Giddings. We will confine ourselves to some observations of lesser import, taking rather the standpoint of a student reading than of a critic judging. The Elements suggests some difficulties which it does not itself anticipate. It is to them we call attention.

On page 6 we find this definition of society: "A society is a number of like-minded individuals—*socii*—who know and enjoy their likemindedness, and are, therefore, able to work together for common ends." The social nature is represented in this way. "Association . . . moulds the nature of individuals, making them more tolerant, sympathetic, and friendly more thoughtful, intelligent, and judicious In their totality these changes develop a social nature—that is, a nature fit for life in social relations" (p. 100). The social nature is "susceptible to suggestion and imitative," "to some extent originative," "it is tolerant and judicious."¹

Association develops three population classes—*vitality*, *personality*, and *social classes*. "The vitality and personality classes are created by the reactions of society upon its individual members in their capacity as *individuals*" (p. 109). The social classes "are created by the reactions of society upon its individual members in their capacity as *socii*" (p. 109).

¹ "The race was social before it was human." "its social qualities were the chief means of developing its human nature" (p. 232).

"The vitality classes are the simplest and most immediate direct results of association" (p. 105). *The high vitality class* is composed of those who have a high birth rate, a low death rate, and great bodily vigor and mental power. Roughly-speaking, they are farmers—the land-owning class. *The medium vitality class* is made up of those who have fair bodily vigor, unusual mental vigor, low death and birth rates. Business and professional men belong chiefly to this class. *The low vitality class* corresponds to the ignorant and uncleanly slum population.

The *personality* classes are threefold. The *inventive* class is composed of mechanical inventors and "all business men, professional men, and statesmen, who have the gift of originality." The *imitative* class is composed of those who are morally and mentally sound; those who are not remarkable nor yet defective, and whose judgment is good. The *defective* class includes defectives of body and mind—"the insane, the imbecile, and suicidal," "the inebrate, the deaf and dumb, the blind, and crippled."

Apropos of this classification, which is the result of the action of society upon its members as *individuals*, we have some difficulty. The *individual, as such*, is not reacted upon by society; the phrase, *as such*, excludes social reaction. Individuals only, *as like-minded*, as *socii*, are members of society (pp. 6, 10). The *socius* is the unit. The average man has no consciousness of belonging to any vitality class. At any rate physical, physiological causes, accidents are important factors in determining vitality. Are vitality and mentality related in fixed ratio? The inventive and the imitative, as such, have no class consciousness. In the three personality classes there are, "first, geniuses and men and women of talent; second, the individuals of normal intellectual and moral power, and third the defective" (p. 108). Great talent in the first—talent and moral power in the second; the defective in mind or body in the third. The enumeration does not place geniuses crippled by accident, or invalids; those with great moral force and inferior intellectuality; those of normal intellectual power, but morally weak, guilty of excesses. It does not tell us what constitutes defect in body or mind.

The three personality classes are "created by those varied combinations of inheritance and of circumstances that are determined by association." The content of the word "circumstance" is not made clear. It does not mean anything definite to one who doubts whether or not much is known about the power which controls the distribution of genius. It may be that the author did not intend to give an exhaustive classification, though the text would lead one to think he did intend it.

The third group of social classes is called social. They are "created by the reaction of *society* upon its individual members in their capacity

as *socii*" (p. 109). There are four such classes: *The social class, the non-social class, the pseudo-social class, the anti-social class.*

The principle of classification here is consciousness of kind. It is highly developed in the first, normal and sound but not wide or strong in the second, degenerate in the third, and approaching extinction in the last. In the first belong those who are sympathetic, friendly, helpful; from them society has inspiration, leadership, enterprise. To the second belong narrow and selfish individuals. "They pride themselves upon their independence and their habit of minding their own business" (p. 111). "This is the *primordial social class*. From it the other three social classes are directly or indirectly derived." It is neutral, "waiting to be reached and impelled upwards or downwards by the *resistless currents of social life*" (p. 111). To the third class belong congenital and habitual paupers who are impostors. True victims of misfortune do not belong to this class. The fourth class is composed of instinctive and habitual criminals who detest society and all its ways.

It is confusing to divide the *social* classes into four, one of which is called *social*. The text tells us that these four classes are created by the reactions of society upon its members, as *socii*. Society exists then, reacts and creates that which is society. The *socius*, as such, exists before those classes. Yet the *socius*, as such, is a member of society, "loving and seeking acquaintance, forming friendships and alliances, etc" (p. 10). Hence, again society exists before those classes. The three remaining classes are formed from the non-social class by "the *resistless currents of social life*" (p. 111). Hence, the resistless currents of social life exist before those classes—that is, before society exists.

Instinctive and habitual criminals, whose consciousness of kind is approaching extinction, make up the anti-social class. We venture to believe that every element in the definition of society (already given) is seen clearly and strongly in the "Molly Maguires," "Chinese Highbinders," "White Caps," or a band of counterfeiters. Consciousness of kind reaches in them a specific form stronger possibly than in any other. Then we want a definition of crime in order to understand the composition of this class. The word means one thing spoken by conscience, another, used by positive law. Are there not "instinctive and habitual criminals" in each of the other three classes? May not one simulate all the social virtues, be a leader, a source of inspiration, etc., and be a criminal? Who is more assiduous in being helpful, friendly, in cultivating social relations, than the confidence man about to rob his victim, the lobbyist buying legislation, or the notoriously corrupt alderman who is the most popular man in his ward?

In other parts of the book similar difficulty will be experienced by the average reader who is a novice in sociology. Had a fair objective an-

alysis been made of that which we call human society, had the various meanings of the word been determined, much would have been gained. A more profound view of the social nature would have been of advantage. The author in his Principles (pp. 19, 20) distinguishes three stages—aggregation, association, perfected social relations. Association is frequently referred to as prior to society in many places in the Elements. Nevertheless, the distinction is one of words, as is shown by the confusion found in use. Those observations refer to difficulty which the general reader may have—the writer had it—in looking over the Elements. No doubt, for one who is of Professor Giddings' school, there is no such confusion. Hence, we prefer to state our difficulties rather than offer a criticism.

The book will meet some criticism for inaccuracy. On page 142, the author defines knowledge as "truth that cannot be overthrown by any process of testing or criticism." Is there then a kind of *truth* which can be overthrown? One would think it on seeing such a specification. Knowledge is objective truth apprehended by the intellect.

On page 145, belief is defined as "the confident expectation that what we *desire* will come true." One can expect that what one *opposes* will come true. Would that be called belief? Belief is hardly hope or expectation in a formal sense. St. Paul's well-known definition does not confound them. The author seems to attach another meaning to the word elsewhere when he speaks of beliefs about the habits and powers of inanimate objects found among savages (Principles, p. 143). There are six or more accepted meanings of the word found among theologians and philosophers, no one of which would justify such a definition. On page 150, we find that "the religious tradition is the sum of beliefs about the continued existence of the soul after death, etc." This definition is vitiated by the use of the word belief in the author's sense. On page 147, the author states that primary traditions are economic, juridical, and political. On page 149, we are told that the secondary traditions are the animistic or personal, the poetic and the religious. It would have been well to define the word primary, since religion is one of the earliest, most enduring, and most powerful social agents known. The phrase "socialistic communism" (p. 103) is not to be recommended. On page 115 we read, "no nation in the world has thus squandered its most precious riches (understanding thereby men and women of talent and highly developed social nature) as recklessly as Spain, whose long continued Inquisition reduced her to an intellectual poverty and moral degradation unparalleled in human history."

Such statements are of little value. Granting a relative intellectual poverty, we can safely deny the assertion that it is unparalleled in his-

tory. Her "moral degradation" is not only not the greatest in history, but not the greatest actually. Leaving aside the Inquisition, has anything else affected Spain? No mention of her enormous expansion under Charles V; her dissolution by the force of the principle of hereditary monarchy; no mention of her enormous colonizations which robbed her of much of her national strength; of her share in European wars, and Europe's shares in hers, due to her political position and political ambitions, (the wars for the succession); no seeking of the mysterious law which reappears in the history of every nation. All this forgotten and the Inquisition alone thought of. The student would prefer a more accurate statement of the causes of Spain's condition.

The book is well printed, very neat in appearance, and in every way worthy of the reputation of the publishers.

The New Economy. By Lawrence Gronlund. Stone and Co., Chicago and New York. 1898. Pp. 364.

This is the latest literary product of American socialism. The author takes it for granted that the signs of the times and all history point toward collectivism. He attempts to show that it is "a most noble ideal." But since that stage in evolution may be a century distant it is necessary to do something now. "Moral egoism, rational altruism, forceful freedom, and vigorous individuality" (p. 109) are collectivist ethical ideals. An approach to them may be made by twelve practical measures which the author exposes as the "something to be done" at once. Some of the measures are socialization of mines, control of railroads, national banks of loans, state management of liquor traffic. The others are the usual reform measures. The book contributes nothing to the understanding of our social problems. The atmosphere of confident prophecy which pervades it wearis the reflecting reader.

Capital et Travail et la Réorganisation de la Société, par Franz Hitze, Conseiller d'état, membre du Reichstag allemand et du Landtag prussien, professeur de sociologie, etc. Louvain, Uyst-pruyt; 1898. Pp. 562.

Dr. Hitze wrote his well-known work, "Kapital und Arbeit," in 1880. We have here a translation into French by J. B. Weyrich. The German edition has been out of print for many years. The translator has added some statistical notes—aside from that the work is unchanged. It is to be regretted that Dr. Hitze has been unable to revise or rewrite the work in the light of his twenty years of study and activity in Germany since it first appeared. Eminent alike as a scholar and a man of action, a new edition of his able work would be of the greatest service to the cause of social reform and Catholicity. In the absence of such, this translation will be widely welcomed.

LITERATURE.

An Introduction to American Literature, by Henry S. Pancoast
New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1898, 8vo, pp. 393.

Another manual of American literature, after those of Richardson and Tyler, claims our attention, this time under the modest name and form of an introduction. The volume of our literary expression is here divided into the Colonial Period (1607-1765), the Establishment of Nationality (1765-1815), and the Literature of the Republic (1809-1897). Within these lines the sectional divisions of our country are looked on as the chief conditioning element, and so we have in each period the schools or classes of literary thought as they appear in New England, the Middle States, and the South. Each general division is prefaced by certain broad utterances that enable the reader to grasp the salient points, as the compiler sees them, and followed by a retrospect that fixes the doctrine in the student's memory. Study lists, that is a select bibliography of monographs, accompany the subdivisions and widen the horizon of reader or student. Three comparative and synoptical tables add to the value of the book in the school-room, for which it is admirably adapted by its compact size, its elevation and idealism, its discriminating patriotism, and its habit of relief-writing, so to speak,—the grouping of the literary multitude about certain commanding figures, which in turn are often admirably outlined, for example, Franklin, Irving, Cooper, Longfellow, Lowell. The presentation of the latter seems to us the highest reach of the writer's skill in luminous and sympathetic compilation. The literary principles of the brief introduction are solid and serviceable, being based on the lines of history and following the trend of that science. Yet we think that the artistic, domestic conspectus of our literature, from its own internal view-points, is somewhat broken or marred by this too close adherence to the historicogeographical lines of development. They have, indeed, their inexorable authority, their inevitable influences. Yet across them all, as in a cosmopolitan world of mind, poet calls to poet, dramatist to dramatist, historian to historian, romancer to romancer, so steadily and surely, that it often seems as if the true, the real divisional lines were all internal, subtle, based on ancient ineradicable confines or limits, which circumscribe and divide every literature more truly than climate or government, or even the strains of blood and religion. There is the example of English literature in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which certainly will one day be treated more consistently from the view-point of the intellectual influence and direction that the yet vivid and near charm of the Middle Ages, and the splendid prestige of literary Italy and Spain, exer-

cised upon it. The last chapter, on Literature since the Civil War, is perhaps the weakest. The drama, history and philosophy seem to fall short of sufficient notice throughout the book. Perhaps it is the space-limit which forbade any, even brief, mention of the poetry of John Boyle O'Reilly, the sonnets of Maurice Francis Egan, the poems of Father Ryan, the finely-chiselled verse of Father Tabb, the work of Charles Warren Stoddard, the romances of Christian Reid and some others, whose literary productions are no less worthy of notice than the extravaganzas of Mark Twain.

Petrarch, The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters, by James Harvey Robinson, Professor of History in Columbia University, and Henry Winchester Rolfe, sometime Professor of Latin in Swarthmore College. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898. 8°, pp. 436.

We are told, on the title page and in the preface, that this volume contains a selection from the correspondence of Petrarch with Boccaccio and other friends, designed to illustrate the beginnings of the renaissance; that it is essentially historical in its intention, and not destined to cross the lines of biography or literary criticism. Petrarch is here viewed as "the mirror of his age—a mirror in which are reflected all the momentous contrasts between waning mediævalism and the dawning renaissance." Körting, Voigt, and Pierre de Nolhae, are the modern authorities acknowledged, where the authors do not use the writings of Petrarch. The book is divided into several chapters, the principal of which treat of the biography of Petrarch, his literary contemporaries, his labors as a humanist or man of letters, his travels, his political opinions, and the conflict of monastic and secular ideals in the fifteenth century.

The authors have rendered good service to the public by their translations of many of Petrarch's letters, all the more so as the only complete edition of Petrarch's works is both rare and antiquated (Basle, 1581), the edition of Fracasetti (Florence, 3 vols., 1855-63), containing only his letters. With many appreciations of this book we willingly agree,—the fourteenth century was, indeed, the dawn of modern times, dim and cold and faint, but yet clearly apart from the times before, and revealing the promise of a light and warmth unknown to the middle times. For a long time Voigt, Burckhardt and Symonds have accustomed us to this view, which is scarcely new, seeing that the renaissance popes were practically the first to recognize it. But we think we catch too often a note of injustice toward the Middle Ages, as when (p. 307) we are told

that Petrarch's moralizing on Mount Ventoux smacks of "mediaeval perversity."¹

It argues an inexperienced mind when such noble thoughts can be taxed with "perversity," however lightly the word may be used. Hugh Miller before the evidences of creation, Abernethy kneeling in wonder at the sight of a camel's stomach, even the pagan instincts to which Petrarch alludes, the "testimonia animæ naturaliter Christianæ" should have saved these writers from such a judgment.

How Chrysostom and Augustine must pale with envy when they hear (p. 38) that theology is a "characteristic creation of the Middle Ages!" On the preceding page the authors seem to ignore the fact that Petrarch was only one, and not the first, of those who opposed Aristotle. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries numerous voices re-echo the ancient ecclesiastical distrust of the great Stagyrite, as may be seen in Launoy "De Varia Aristotelis Fortuna," or in the preface of Barthélémy de St. Hilaire to the Logic of Aristotle (p. CIII). It is painful to the students of the Middle Ages to hear Pierre Dubois spoken of as an unknown—"a certain Pierre Dubois" (p. 46). The sweeping statement (p. 110) that benefices were regarded as foundations for indigent scholars will astonish the readers of Thomassin or Roth, or any writer on ecclesiastical institutions. When (p. 92) they accuse mediaeval ecclesiastics of believing in the "inherent sinfulness of love," we doubt whether the writers ever read a page of any mediaeval (or modern) Catholic moral theologian. The popular preaching of any period is by no means the criterion of the principles of an entire age or society.

What we read (p. 123) of Boniface VI (d. 896) is evidently meant for Boniface IX (1389-1404). This pope is called "an upright and con-

¹ The passage referred to is in his letter to Dionisio da Borgo San Sepolcro. After describing the long and difficult ascent and the emotions of his heart in presence of the splendid panorama of sea and land that lay open before him, the poet is deeply moved in spirit and writes: "While I was thus dividing my thoughts, now turning to some terrestrial object that lay before me now raising my soul as I had done my body to higher planes, it occurred to me to look into my copy of St. Augustine's Confessions, a gift that I owe to your love, and that I have always about me, in memory of both the author and the giver. I opened the compact little volume, small, indeed, in size, but of infinite charm, with the intention of reading whatever came to hand, for I could happen upon nothing that would be otherwise than edifying and devout. Now, it chanced that the tenth book presented itself. My brother, waiting to hear something of St. Augustine's from my lips, stood attentively by. I call him, and God too, to witness that where I first fixed my eyes it was written: 'And men go about to wonder at the heights of the mountains, and the mighty waves of the sea, and the wide sweep of rivers, and the circuit of the ocean, and the revolution of the stars, but themselves they consider not.' I was abashed, and asking my brother (who was anxious to hear more) not to annoy me, I closed the book, angry with myself that I should be still admiring earthly things who might long ago have learned from even the pagan philosophers that nothing is wonderful but the soul, which, when great, finds nothing great outside itself. Then, in truth, I was satisfied that I had seen enough of the mountains; I turned my eye inward upon myself, and from that time not a syllable fell from my lips until we reached the bottom again."

scientious savage." But when we look into the life-history of Dietrich von Niem, the German ex-official of the pope, as it is told in Ottocar Lorenz,¹ we learn that Dietrich had become embittered against this pope because by him he had been "kläglich ignorirt," and that he had for years been dragging out an evermore miserable existence at the papal court, hoping for some bishopric like Verden. This is enough to compel a cautious acceptance, at least of his personal reflections on the pope's character.

The book shows otherwise a tendency to flippant and irreverent language in dealing with dignified subjects, and is interlarded to a considerable extent with French and German words and brief phrases that add little to the value of the thought or illustrations. A special index of the letters translated would make the use of the book more agreeable. The text is enriched by a portrait of Petrarch, a specimen page of his annotated copy of the Iliad, and a sketch of Vancluse from his pen, bearing the legend, "Transalpina solitudo mea jocundissima." It was discovered by M. de Nolhac in Petrarch's own copy of Pliny's Natural History.

The statement (p. 322) that the theological works attributed to Boethius are from another hand, and that he was probably not a Christian, sounds strange, in view of the fact that a whole school of learned men has always maintained the contrary. As far back as 1877 a well-known critic, Usener, edited a fragment of Cassiodorus discovered by Holder, in which this learned contemporary and friend of Boethius says: "Scripsit librum de Sancta Trinitate et capita quædam dogmatica et librum contra Nestorium." The palaeographical testimony was always in favor of unity of authorship of the "De Consolatione Philosophie" and the theological writings. So good a patrologist as Bardenhewer (*Patrologie*, Freiburg, 1894, p. 586,) declares very rash the attempt to fix a heathen character on the great philosophical work of Boethius. The purity of its ethics, the sure handling of moral principles and the earnestness of their presentation, forbid us attributing it to a heathen. It is rather the work of a firm believer in Christianity, even though the technology of that religion be little in evidence.

The Italians of To-Day. From the French of René Bazin; translated by William Marchant; New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1897. 8°, pp. 240.

In his "Sicile," and in the much finer "Terre d'Espagne" René Bazin revealed to the world of letters one of those cosmopolitan souls which somehow seem to have grown rarer with increasing industry, wealth and

¹ Deutschland's Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter seit der Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Berlin, 1887, II, 315-316.

militarism. Here was a traveler whom the monuments of history, art, and religion interested, indeed, but not to the exclusion of the real worth of any nation,—the great multitudinous substratum of common humanity called the people, from whose beliefs, hopes, and ideals all natural beauty and glory must originally have come. In this new book on modern Italy, he passes in review the peoples of the Peninsula much after the manner of his former books of travel. There is the same impressionable soul, alive to every charm of color and line and mass that the landscape offers, curiously observant of the monuments peculiar to each of the many races that are blended now in a common stock,—alive, nevertheless, to the actual currents that are shaping anew the life of an immemorial people.

In Lombardy and Tuscany it is the economic movement that attracts him, or the relations of officers and soldiers, or the yet dignified villa life of families whose existence is not unlike their prototypes in ancient Florence or Orvieto. He is quick to see certain peculiarities of Italian character revealed by the great monumental cemeteries of Genoa, Milan, Bologna, and other cities, by the vast and splendid new quarters of Milan, by the pompous placards that flame from every wall. In every typical old city he meets representatives of the various estates of Italian life,—the noble, the bourgeois, the soldier, the man of the people,—and their conversations furnish a mutual corrective to which our traveler adds his own reflections, devoid neither of salt or charity. Florence the Guelf and Siena the Ghibelline, old baronial Vicenza, and Padua the studious, are treated in water colors, very slightly, but spiritedly and fascinatingly.

And en route he chats with just discernment about the hopes and future of Italy; about her novelists, musicians and savants, a little patronizingly after the way of rich and powerful neighbors, but with genuine affection. It is clear that he has suffered *le mal d'Italie*, that irrepressible yearning for the sunniest soil, the most varied history, the richest art that any people ever possessed. We would especially commend the chapter on the unhappy failure of the great building speculations at Rome. Very instructive, too, and touching, is the exhaustive description of the real life of the people of the Campagna. Who that has read these pages can ever forget that little world of herdsmen and shepherds which yet encircles with its zone of silence and death the great lonely capital of Italy? Just so it has been since the day when the little stone stronghold, a robber's nest, first rose upon the Palatine, and looked down upon the tortuous, yellow Tiber as it wound its swift way, rolling across pasture lands, by the foot of slopes and cliffs, through gulches and valleys that seem yet to make up a miniature earth,—so little is wanting of geographical diversity on this marvellous wold.

Dante, Sein Leben und Sein Werk, Sein Verhältniss zur Kunst und Zur Politik, von Franz Xaver Kraus. Berlin, G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1897. 4°, pp. 790.

When a scholar like Professor Kraus gives to the world a volume on a subject which has been for many years the theme of his meditations and researches, one is justified in expecting something beyond the common in content and form,—something exhaustive at once and inspiring. Kraus has been for years an enthusiastic Dantophile, and few private libraries contain a completer collection of works relating to the great Tuscan than can be seen in the modest home in the Wilhelmsstrasse in Freiburg. With an iron industry and an unflagging patience this genial savant has at last produced an account of the life and labors of Dante that must henceforth take its place besides the monumental labors of Wegele and Scartazzini. Every chapter of the work betrays a scientific conscientiousness and thoroughness peculiarly German, while the whole offers to the admirers of Dante a most liberal and attractive encyclopedia of knowledge concerning the "sommo poeta."

Under five general rubrics Professor Kraus has distributed the subject-matter of his work, "The Life of Dante," his Minor Writings, the *Divina Commedia*, "The Poet's Relations to Art and to Polities." In the first book we are introduced to the sources of our knowledge of Dante, the certain and uncertain dates of his lifework, his birth and family, youth, and public services. Then follows the account of his exile, his final shelter and death at Ravenna, his portrait in the popular imagination and memory, his mental physiognomy, his portraits in ancient and modern art. In the second book the lesser productions of Dante's pen are passed in review as to their genuinity, content and spirit,—the *Vita Nuova*, the *Canzoniere*, the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, the *Convito*, the *De Monarchia*, the *Eclogues*, and the *Letters*, as well as writings certainly spurious, but once honored with his name. In the third book, Professor Kraus attacks the knotty problems of the *Divina Commedia*, its content and the execution of the same, the scope of the poet, the general history of its interpretation, the basic idea, the chronology, and the peculiar dress of the great poem. The allegory on which rest the first two cantos of the *Inferno* and the chief symbolic figures of the *Commedia* come in for lengthy treatment, as well as the palaeographic tradition of the text, the various printed editions, and the translations. A chapter is devoted to the earlier commentaries, and another to the peculiar characteristics of the *Commedia*. The fourth book considers Dante in his relation to the fine arts, his personal knowledge and practice of art, his doctrine concerning art, the history of the illustration of the poems, both in manuscript and in print, the idealized illustration, and the effect of the poem

on the plastic arts in general. Politics, profane and ecclesiastical, the empire and the Church, form the theme of the fifth book, in which Professor Kraus brings clearly to the light the profoundly ideal Catholicism of Dante's mind, his notions of thorough and lasting reform, and the results which Dante's political ideas have brought about in the past, or are likely to cause in the future. The work closes with a summary of Dante's character, and a series of judgments from the lips of the most competent students of his life and his writings.

Niccolò Tommaséo said of the poet: "Legger Dante è un dovere; leggerlo è necessario; sentirlo è presagio di grandezza." So, too, to have read and appreciated this manual of Dante is to assimilate, at least the outlines of a liberal education in the great school over which the world's supremest poet presides—the school of ideal and holy Catholicism, cut loose from the prizes and attachments of earthly politics, that school of joyful life for which

"E Sisto e Pio e Callisto ed Urbano
Sparser lo sangue dopo molto fletto"

The last fifty years have witnessed an extraordinary revival of Dantesque studies, and the creation of a literature so enormous that only the very few can presume to be acquainted with it in detail. The names of Troya, Balbo, Fraticelli, Todeschini, Lombardi, De Lungo, Scartazzini, of Blane and Wegele and Ruth, of Fauriel and Ozanam, of Bocca and Rosetti, Church and Lowell, Symonds and Plumptre, of Cary, Longfellow, Norton, Wright, Parsons, Moore, Fay, and so many others, bring before us the vision of a glorious academy of men of all cultured nations, whose one inexhaustible theme is the

"Poema sacro
Al qual ha posto mano e cielo e terra."

It is the results of these numberless studies, to which must be added the labors of the Dante societies of Italy, Germany, and America, and the historians of Italian literature, that one finds imbedded in the pages of Professor Kraus. In every chapter occur numerous questions and problems of genuinity, chronology, interpretation and appreciation that no common reader could hope to know or approach without the aid of some kindly and intelligent mentor. Take, for instance, the question of the genuinity of the epistles of Dante, or the fantastic system of anti-papal interpretation excoitated by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, or the political character of many of the Canzoni, or the history of the illustration of the text of the *Divina Commedia*. With commendable succinctness our author places the acquired results of modern scholarship in a few bril-

lignant pages and initiates his readers to conclusions that their finders reached after much toil.

To the lover of Dante there is not one dry or useless page in the whole book. Some unavoidable repetition there certainly is, and certain chapters might not suffer from a more compact treatment. The entire work could be compressed into a handy manual by omission of the footnotes and much of the argument. But as it is, its very amplitude and exhaustiveness make it desirable to those whose books on Dante are few and perhaps a little out of date. Such critical works are not likely to find translators, but they stimulate research, and serve as incentives for the younger generation whom they have coaxed to take up the torch and hand it on to others already dimly visible in the future.

Dante was a Catholic in whom poetry and theology have so interpenetrated one another that the features of the former are forevermore crowned with an other-world gravity, and the hard face of the latter has unbent, to wear the winsomest smile that ever decked its stern pure traits.

It is in vain that men persuade themselves that they may deal unaffected with these wonderful writings. Insensibly they will be drawn within the reach of that fierce genius who tolerated in lifetime nothing mean or common near him, and whose shadow even yet compels his disciples to gravest reflection and deep spirit-probings that lead ultimately to that Rome—"onde Cristo è Romano." There is more than one appreciation of Professor Kraus which we could wish toned down in form or omitted; times and circumstances have so changed that the events which called them forth are unlikely ever again to recur. Perhaps, too, we who dwell in a political system that would make the flesh of Dante creep can scarcely understand the temper of mind of a man to whom the thoughts and the atmosphere of the "Monarchia" are congenial. We would not burn at the stake that or any other passionate winged cry of the human heart—Deus est qui judicet. But, oh! how far the world has wandered up the heights of political wisdom since the days when Dante hoped for a world-peace from such anachronisms as "Alberto Tedesco" or "Rodolfo imperador;" when the man, in whom all the emotion and knowledge of the age stood at flood-tide, could throw his whole being into those unparalleled stormy cries and entreaties, that sacred rage and passion, which ennable the imperialism of the sixth canto of the "Paradiso," while they leave the modern heart sad and thoughtful over the mystery of destiny which could so cruelly hide the necessary truth from the anointed eyes and the purified lips of the prophet of his own and all future time!

HAGIOGRAPHY.

1. **St. Ignace de Loyola**, par Henri Joly. Paris: Lecoffre. 1899, 8vo, pp. 227.
2. **St. Etienne**, Roi Apostolique de Hongrie, par E. Horn. Paris: Lecoffre. 1899, 8vo, pp. 197.
3. **Le P. de l' Hermite des Missionaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée**, par le R. P. Marius Devés. Paris: Briguet. 1898, 8vo, pp. 515.
4. **Life of the Venerable Servant of God Julie Billiart**, foundress and first Superior-General of the Institute of Sisters of Notre Dame, by a member of the same congregation, edited by Father Clare, S.J. London: Art and Book Co. 1898, 8vo, pp. 403.

1. M. Henri Joly, the author of *La Psychologie des Saints* in the Lecoffre collection, has undertaken the task of writing the life of St. Ignatius of Loyola. His authorities, which he follows most faithfully, are the domestic writers of the Society, Gonzalès (*Acta Antiquissima*), Ribadeneira (*Vita altera*), and Polanco (*Vita Ignatii*, Madrid, 1894). The labors of the Bollandists and the writings of St. Ignatius (*Exercises*, *Constitutions*, *Letters*) are also added to the list. As to the spirit of the book M. Joly tells us himself that it is written "en parfaite liberté." He takes note on his way of many an objection against the nature and work of the Society, but resolves them with ease, accepting as a rule the positions and conclusions of the authorities above cited. As a summary of the old lives it is excellent. But it would be scarcely exact to say, in spite of the style and a certain emphasis, that it adds to our knowledge of the circumstances of the foundation of the Society. There is certainly a disproportion in the space given to the relations of Paul III with St. Ignatius, and the rather harsh paragraph which (p. 216) he consecrates to Paul IV, who looked with other eyes on the life-tenure of the general and the exemption from choir duty. The work is really a smooth and elegant panegyric of St. Ignatius, and as such deserves the highest credit.

2. The conversion of Hungary at the end of the tenth century was a providential act for Europe, since it closed the great plain of Pannonia against the forces of Islam and created a Christian bulwark against which, times innumerable, the forces of the Crescent have hurled themselves in vain. In this little volume M. Horn relates the circumstances of this conversion,—the zeal and daring of the Transylvanian girl Sarolta, who married Gieza, duke of Hungary and descendant of Arpád

the Hun, who a hundred years earlier had reconquered the ancestral domain of Attila; then follow the birth of Stephen, true child of Almos, and his marriage to Gisela, daughter of the German Emperor; afterward his zeal in spreading Christianity, his jealousy of the increasing power of Poland, and his success in securing from Sylvester II (in the year 1000) the title of King and Apostolicus, with the rich crown that Rome once destined for the Pole. Stephen was the father of his people; his wars were successful; his political constitution was a viable and suitable one; he covered the land with bishoprics, churches and convents,—in a word, he seized on every civilizing element in Christianity that enabled him to break the attachment of this strong Altaic race to its old gods and heathen practices. The ecclesiastical independence that Rome granted him was often afterward regretted by her, but the kings of Hungary never consented to give up their perpetual right of legation. To this, perhaps, are owing in no small share the abuses from which that church has notoriously suffered, being neither Eastern nor Western, and having come through the Middle Ages and the French Revolution with almost no change in its internal organization or discipline. The work of M. Horn contains more than one historical reason for the abuses and trials of this wonderful church.

3. France offers us a peculiar kind of hagiographical literature, in which the heroic actions of men gifted with the spirit of God are intermingled with tender memories of their family and personal relations. The life of Père de l'Hermite (1829–1890) is a good specimen of these works of edification. By turn popular missionary, parish priest, superior of a religious house and then provincial of his brethren, he consumed the last years of his life as military chaplain or in the special service of the poor. His life is typical of hundreds spent in the same way. They keep alive in France the good odor of Catholicism by their extraordinary sacrifices and their almost superhuman labors along lines that bring little worldly glory, but rejoice the saints and angels.

4. The work of the educational congregations of women during the nineteenth century is truly a wonderful theme. In this life of Mother Julie Billiart we have the life-sketch of one of those remarkable personalities whom God raises from time to time as benefactors of society. It is to her that the Church owes the institute of the Sisters of Notre Dame, a teaching order that counts some twelve hundred members in America, from four to six hundred in England, and above thirteen hundred in Belgium. This volume relates the incidents of her life (1751–1816), the grave trials and crosses she was made to bear, and the rapid spread of her institute which has never failed to reproduce in its work the features that this strong woman stamped upon it in infancy.

PHILOLOGY.

A Contribution to the Phonology of Desi-Irish, by Rev. Richard Henebry, Ph. D. Greifswald: Julius Abel. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1898. Pp. vi-77.

A good deal of attention has been paid of late to the phonology of modern Irish. A French, a German, and a Danish scholar have in turn studied the Gaelic of the South Islands of Aran, a place that bids fair to become a school of modern Irish. In the present pages we have the first thorough account yet published of the pronunciation of Irish in what has always been, and still is, the literary province. As the work of one who has been from his childhood familiar with the language, this study has a special value, and it has already received a warm welcome in Gaelic circles. Dr. Henebry gives his little book the modest sub-title of *Introduction to the Metrical System of Munster Poetry*—a body of literature fairly familiar to English readers through the translations of Mangan, Edward Walsh, Furlong, and others—but we believe that students of language generally will find the work very suggestive and valuable. Few spoken tongues of the present day have such a long record as Gaelic possesses of the changes in pronunciation as reflected in MSS. extending over eleven centuries. The phonetic scheme adopted, while full and adequate for all practical purposes, is also natural, and presents no unnecessary difficulty. The vowel sounds are carefully indicated, and each consonant has its full share of symbols.

Lengthening of vowel sounds from position, and removal of certain vowel sounds in favor of others, are the chief phenomena studied under the head of vowels. The first phenomenon is not peculiar to Gaelic as we have it in lowland Scotch and western English (*auld* for *old*, etc.). In Gaelic, however, it is the chief feature of Munster pronunciation, and also, curiously enough, of the Gaelic of the Northern Highlands of Scotland. Under the second head we find that the vowel *a* has, outside Ulster, lost its natural sound, and taken on the sounds of *a* in *what*, *fall*. The cases in which the original sounds are retained are carefully classified, and some curious details are given of the changing pronunciation of personal names. We notice that in Desi the verbal ending —*fá* has the modified sound. In the West it retains the original sound. In words beginning with *f*, the original *a* sound returns on aspiration, as noted in the case of *fhian*.

In English we have had a change of sound in words like *meal*, *steal*, *meat*, where the original *e* sound is retained yet in the Anglo-Irish. In Gaelic there is a similar tendency to the *ee* or *i* sound. Thus from *clerus* we have nom. *cliar*, and this is a type of a very large class. Dr.

Henebry does not gather his facts with an eye on any theory, but we might point out that the sound *bial*, *ian*, etc., given to *béal*, *éan*, etc., in Munster and in the Highlands, is only a modern example of the change seen in *clerus*, *clar*, and is also in line with the Western change from ē to ia, as in *ael*, later *aol* (which was probably pronounced as it now is in Munster), present *al*. In Munster the *ian* sound is given to *éan* usually when stressed only, and perhaps that fact explains why *aon*, the numeral adjective is én in the West, while a *h-aon* (the noun) is a HIN. The Ulster pronunciation ù given to *ao* marks an intermediate stage of the change in sound.

Similarly there are reductions of *a* to *u* (pp. 9, 20, 25, 27, 28) which are of very great interest. It may be questioned, however, whether *dam*, *agam*, *agat* (p. 20) were ever phonetic spelling; in no place is the pronunciation *dam* now heard, but *dom* and *domh*.

The diphthongal sound given to *i* in such words as *im*, *linn*, etc., and the analogous sound given to *ai*, *oi*, *ui* in certain positions is perhaps the most striking peculiarity of Desi-Irish, and enables one to identify a Desian after a few moments' conversation. No doubt the Munster Gaelic has retained the original pronunciation of the diphthongs better than the western or northern Irish, where the *i* is assimilated by either the following consonant or the preceding vowel. The strongly nasal *au* sound is another well-marked note of the Desi-Gaelic. Elsewhere nasal tones are restricted to vowel sound followed by *mh*, except perhaps in one word, *ait*, which, for some reason or other, is always nasalized.

We find some remarkable interchanges between *c* and *t*, *ch* and *th*, *d* and *g*, and indeed we may add *dh* and *gh*, as these last are pronounced identically everywhere. In the midland counties of Ireland, *c* and *t* have the same sound before *u* in English; thus *cute*, *Tuite* are exactly identical in sound. Similarly *d* and *g*; *dew* is pronounced as if *gue*. There are indications of the same interchange in Desi-Irish; thus, p. 41, *cli-amhian* as if *tl*—; p. 54, *tsleibhe* as if *cl*—; p. 13, *dligheadh* as if *gli*—. Then there is a regular use of *ch* for *th* in *leath*, *thrath*, *rath*, *rioth*. Also the opposite in *fithe* for *fiche*—the western and northern speakers go into the other extreme and say —*ich* for —*ith* in *maith*, *flaith*. Compare also Munster —*ithe* for —*ighthe*, Ulster —*iste* for —*ichte*.

Questions of Gaelic phonology have special actuality just now when the movement to extend the use and knowledge of the old tongue is meeting with such success, that the proposal has been made of adopting a phonetic spelling so as to make the learning of Gaelic easier. Evidently any improvement in spelling, and still more a phonetic spelling, must be based on a uniform pronunciation. We must know what are abnormal and erratic growths, and separate them from the normal pro-

nunciation. Dr. Henebry's book, although not written for this specific purpose, is a most valuable help to study of these points. Thus some things that at present only burden the memory under the title of exceptional words, are shown to be simply wrong, such as *éagmais*, p. 64, *anns gach*, *arsa si*, p. 76, and many others. On the other hand many phrases and words which at first sight one would declare wrong are shown to have developed in a normal manner, such as *dé luain*, 43, *dada*, 20, *sán* for *tasbén*, *tara*, etc. The author is not inclined to any innovations in orthography; to us indeed he seems rather too conservative in writing *rachad* for the Munster pronunciation *raghad*, *glaise* for *gluise*, p. 33, and a few others. We venture to say that this little book will form the starting-point of many interesting discussions among Gaelic scholars. The equation of *a bhaile* with *an bhaile*, where *an* represent a compound of the article with the preposition *in*, will probably arouse a discussion affecting a large class of common phrases. The Ulster phrase is *na bhaile*, and hitherto the noun has been regarded as the genitive case after *chum* fallen away to *un*. Thus the Donegal *ag 'ul na gceall*, "going to Killyhegs," and the Kerry *a' dul go dti sna ceallaibh*, "going to Kells," represent the same noun in genitive and dative. *Steach in ti*, which occurs immediately after *an bhaile*, pp. 69-70, is in the west *na tighe* (*chum an tighe*) and *sa' teach*. Very interesting are the notes on *meireach*, p. 28, *tafann*, p. 51, *fuaidh*, p. 46, *siur* and *fuir*, 51.

We have found this first publication of the A. O. H. chair most instructive and suggestive, and we hope that Dr. Henebry may follow it up with other studies of similar character dealing with the Gaelic of Thomaard, Desmond, and West Munster.

EUGENE O'GROWNEY.

Phoenix, Arizona.

Ancient and Modern Palestine, translated by Mary B. Rotthier, from the French of Brother Lieuwin de Hamme, O. S. F., residing at Jerusalem for the last forty years. Fourth edition, revised and enlarged, with maps, plans and views, 2 vols., 8vo. New York: The Meany Publishing Co. 1898.

In these volumes we have a translation of a well-known French guide book for pilgrims to the Holy Land.¹ From the view-point of the local Franciscan traditions, preserved for seven centuries by these faithful guardians of the Holy Land, this book may be looked on as completing the invaluable guide of Baedeker, edited by Professor Socin. The book before us is very useful as a guide to the sanctuaries; as a guide to the

¹ "Guide Indicateur des Sanctuaires et Lieux Historiques de la Terre Sainte," by the late lamented Bro. Lieuwin de Hamme.

historical places of the Holy Land, its worth is less. The author is very partial to local tradition and rather deaf to any historical criticism that might tend to displace these traditions from their popularity. Still, as the pilgrim does not usually care, except in a superficial way, to discuss the opinions of archæologists, this book may be very useful to him. Certain improvements might be suggested, e. g., a clearer arrangement for American pilgrims of the abundant practical information, more systematic indexes, more detailed and better engraved maps. The whole might be condensed into one volume by the use of suitable paper and the introduction of smaller type for less important matter. With these betterments the book will answer fairly well the needs of the average pilgrim to the Holy Land.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(Mention under this rubric does not preclude further notice.)

Evolution and Teleology. Discourse by the Rev. Dr. J. H. Zahm, C. S. C. president of the anthropological section of the International Catholic Scientific Congress, Fribourg, Switzerland, August, 1897. Reprinted in *Popular Science Monthly*, April, 1898, with translations into French, *Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, April, 1898, and Italian, A. M. Galea, Siena, 1898.

Theologiae Naturalis Institutiones, in compendium redactæ et tyronum usui accomodate. A Sac. Bernardo M. Skulik, Senis, 1897.

The Life of Laura Keene, Actress, Artist, Manager, and Scholar, together with some interesting reminiscences of her daughter, by John Creahan, Philadelphia, 1897.

Report of the Board of Education of the State of Connecticut for 1897, Hartford, Conn., 1898.

How to Pray, translated from the French of Abbé Grou, S. J., by Teresa Fitzgerald, edited with preface by Father Clarke, S. J. London: Thomas Baker. 1898. 8°, pp. 204.

The Catechism of Rodez, explained in form of sermons, etc., by the Abbé Luche, translated and adapted to the wants of the American public by Rev. John Thein. B. Herder: St. Louis. 1898. 8°, pp. 528.

ANALECTA. EDUCATIONAL.

What is a University.—The London *Spectator* of February 12th contains an article under this heading. It is republished in the December *Educational Review*. The question interests all. The readers of the *BULLETIN*—those acquainted with the life of our university, or who have heard the discourses of the chancellor, the rector, or the deans, know the answer as we understand it. In the university, science is made by research and investigations; learned men are formed in seminars, laboratories, libraries. Science is communicated to others by courses and conferences; science is applied in the professional schools. From the university radiates an influence that is felt far and wide. The article above referred to is interesting since it institutes a comparison of the five types of university, French, German, English, Scotch, American, the result of which is favorable to the German type. We quote from it.

“Essentially the German University is exactly what the University of Paris was in the Middle Ages—a great teaching corporation—and this must be held to be the chief function of a university. For our time, the Universities of Berlin and Leipsic have been the greatest centers of teaching in the world. Merely to name their leading professors is to indicate the best that has been done in thought and research—Ranke, Helmholtz, Von Sybel, Curtius, Mommsen, Virchow, Fechner, Pfleiderer, Treitschke, Hoffmann, Wundt—no other seats of learning can yield such names. The intellectual life of Germany is expressed by the university as it is not either in France or England. Mill, Spencer, Grote, Huxley would in Germany have been university professors; here they were unconnected with any university. This is not only true of the university of to-day, it was true of Germany at an earlier date. Kant and Hegel were university professors, and even so unacademic a personage as Goethe spent years at two universities—Leipsic and Strasbourg. A free teaching institution reaching even the lower classes (we have known a milkman take the doctorate of philosophy at Leipsic), tending to immense specialism, but embracing all knowledge and expressing the highest ideal of the nation’s culture—such is the German University.

“The English type is different. Here we have the collegiate system with its reminiscences of school discipline and its aesthetic charm un-

known to the German University. The chief drawbacks to Oxford and Cambridge are the low standards for the majority, the excessive competition and the comparative absence of what the Americans call 'post-graduate' work. There is too much of the school element, too little of the serious work of the mature student. The universities have not yet quite recovered from the effects of those generations of cultivated ignorance and lettered idleness so severely exposed by Gibbon and Adam Smith. On the other hand, the strength of Oxford and Cambridge lies in their deep humanity, their lofty standard of life, their aloofness from everything that is vulgar, mercenary or partisan."

Higher Education.—Mr. W. T. Harris, Commissioner of Education, delivered the convocation address at the Quarter Centennial of Boston University on May 31. He took as his theme, "Higher Education: Its Function in Preserving and Extending our Civilization." It was published in the September *Educational Review*. We quote its conclusion:

"In the college the pupil has the thought of his civilization presented to him as a practical guiding principle. He meets it in every recitation room and in the general conduct of the institution. He finds himself in association with a large number of students all occupied upon this work of learning the regulative principles not only of human conduct but also of the world of knowledge.

"The lawyer, after working years and years over his cases, comes by and by to have what is called a 'legal mind,' so that he sees at a glance, almost as by intuition, what the law will be in a new case. So, in the four years of college undergraduate life, the student gets an insight which enables him to decide immediately a phase of the problem of life. He forms a habit of mind which inquires constantly of each thing and event: How does this look in the light of the whole of human learning? What is the 'good form' which the concensus of the scholars of the world has fixed for this? He learns at once to respect what are called 'isms' and universal panaceas as one-sided statements. The wisdom of the case begins to form a conscious element of his life.

"While the first part of higher education gives this general insight into what is good form in view of the unity of human learning, the second part—that which teaches methods of original investigation—should be made accessible to all students of colleges and universities. For this purpose endowments are needed, first in the forms of fellowships which will enable the student to live comfortably while he is preparing himself for his doctor's degree. A second kind of endowment may promote research and take the form of prizes for special investigations.

"The laboratories and seminaries of this post-graduate course may and

do take up the practical problems of the life of the people. These are capable of immense benefit in sociology and politics, to say nothing of the industries of the people, rural and urban. The entire civil service of the United States should find employment for experts armed with methods of original investigation, and with the readiness and daring to undertake the solution of problems which offer themselves perpetually in our civil life. The town council, the board of public works, the various directive powers which manage the affairs of the State and municipality are in constant need of light, and the student of the post-graduate department of the university is the person needed to furnish by his special studies the aggregate result of the experience of the world in answering these practical and theoretical wants. In a country studying ever new political questions and questions of sociology, the student who obtains his doctor's degree from the post-graduate course can apply his knowledge, and apply it rationally, without losing his self-possession.

"Since 1880, when our census showed a population of more than fifty millions, we have ascended above the horizon of the great nations of Europe.

"Henceforth we have a new problem, namely, to adjust ourselves to the European unity of civilization. It is absurd to suppose that the problems of diplomacy which will arise in our relations to the states of the Old World can be solved by minds untrained in the university. For it is higher education which takes the students back to historic sources and descends from national beginnings, tracing the stream of events to the various points at which modern nations have arrested their development. Successful diplomacy is not possible without thorough knowledge of national aspirations and their historic genesis.

"It is almost equally important that our home problems, social and political, shall be studied by our university specialists. Perpetual readjustment is before us. There is the new aristocracy of wealth struggling against the aristocracy of birth. To both is opposed the aristocracy of culture, the only one that is permanent. All may come into the aristocracy of culture, but it requires supreme endeavor on the part of the individuals.

"With the great inventions of the age we find ourselves all living on a border land. We are brought into contact with alien nationalities and alien forms of civilization. We are forever placed in antagonism with some environment, material or spiritual, and our endeavor must persevere to effect a reconciliation—to unite the conflicting ideas in a deeper one that conserves what is good in each. There is no other recourse—we must look to higher education to furnish the formulæ for the solution of the problems of our national life."

Some Recent Acts of the Holy See Concerning Higher Education.—The following paragraph from the encyclical letter of Leo XIII. to the bishops of Scotland, under date of July 25, 1898, is of interest to all the friends of Catholic education, notably the higher education:

"It is likewise of vital importance to defend most strenuously, to establish more firmly, and to surround with every safeguard the Catholic education of youth. We are not unmindful of the fact that in Scotland thoroughly efficient schools exist, in which the best methods of teaching are to be found. But every effort must be put forth and every sacrifice must be made, so that Catholic schools should be second to none in point of efficiency. We must not allow our youth to be inferior to others in literary attainments or in learning, which the Christian faith demands as its honorable accompaniments with a view to its defence and adornment. The love of religion and country requires that whatever institutions Catholics already possess for the purposes of primary, intermediate or higher education, should by the due and proportionate coöperation of all be consolidated and extended. Justice similarly demands that the education and learning of the clergy should be most zealously promoted, as they cannot nowadays occupy worthily and usefully their position unless they have the prestige of wide erudition and solid learning."

The New Rector of Louvain.—In July, 1898, Mgr. Abeloos resigned from the rectorship of the University of Louvain. His health had been failing for some time. The Belgian bishops elected to the rectorship Dr. Hebbelinck, Mgr. Abeloos' assistant, and professor of Patrology and Coptic in the university. The new rector pronounced his inaugural discourse October 18, and in it he gave an interesting account of the development of the university under the rectors who had preceded him in office, De Ram, Laforet, Namèche, Pierrart, Abeloos. Under Mgr. De Ram the five faculties of Theology, Law, Medicine, Philosophy, Letters and Sciences were founded in 1834. In 1865 he advocated the principle of founding special schools. Under Mgr. Laforet the idea took firm hold and a beginning was made.

Under Mgr. Namèche, the School of Agriculture, the college of Justus Lipsius, and some laboratories were added. Under Mgr. Pierrart the teaching of biology was considerably developed by the creation of new courses and the opening of laboratories. Courses in the Germanic languages were also introduced. Under Mgr. Abeloos, who is a distinguished Orientalist, were created the School of Social and Political Sciences and the School of Commercial and Consular Sciences, and a great impetus was given to the study of natural philosophy, and of his-

torical and biblical criticism. At the end of the first rector's term there were 764 students; at the end of the last, 1,756.

Professor Kurth's Jubilee in Liège.—The twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Professor Kurth's Seminar of History in the University of Liège was celebrated November 20th. There were present: M. Scholaert, minister of public instruction; M. Baernaert, president of the chamber; delegations from universities and learned bodies of Belgium and Germany. The idea of the Seminar or *cours pratique* owes its origin to Professor von Ranke, the celebrated German historian. It was introduced into France by Victor Duruy, and into Belgium by Professor Kurth at Liège. Soon every university in Belgium had followed his example.

The celebration of this anniversary in honor of Professor Kurth is due to two former students, M. Pirenne and M. Fredriecq. The latter is known in America by the English translation of his report on the study of history in Germany and France. (Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, vol. VIII.) The chief works of Professor Kurth are: "Les origines de la Civilisation Chrétienne," "Histoire Poétique des Merovingiens," "Clovis," "St. Clotilde," "La frontière linguistique en Belgique et dans le Nord de la France." Like his eminent colleague of Louvain, Mgr. de Harlez, Professor Kurth takes an active interest in the social movement, being a pronounced Christian Democrat.

The University of Fribourg in Switzerland.—On December 9, 1897, eight professors of the University of Fribourg, which is under the control of the canton, addressed a collective letter to the president of the Council of State offering their resignations, which should take effect April 1, 1898. March 31 they published a memoir containing the following chapters: Notes historiques, Differents de droit privé, La lutte pour l'organisation de l'Université, L'attitude de la faculté de théologie, Confits de nationlité.

The Catholic papers of France, Belgium and Italy scarcely noticed this remarkable event. Some of them, however, mention the reply to the memoir of the professors. It appeared under the title "L'Université de Fribourg en Suisse et ses detracteurs" (*L'Univers*, November 4, 1898). The episode attracted some attention in Rome. Cardinal Rampolla wrote a letter to M. Python, and the Prefect of the Congregation of Studies sent a letter to the University authorities censuring the professors who had seceded. This letter, dated May 23, was not published till December in the *Analecta Ecclesiastica*. The letter of Cardinal Rampolla has not been published.

Instruction to the Friars Minor.—In an important letter to the Friars Minor of St. Francis, dated November 25, 1898, the Pope recalls the

teaching of his encyclical *Aeterni Patris* concerning the philosophy and theology of St. Thomas. He would have them hold fast to the latter while accepting with willingness the proved conclusions of modern science. Recalling the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, he warns them against certain specious but overbold opinions that have only the appearance of truth, especially in the province of the Sacred Scriptures. Of Sacred Eloquence he says, after referring to a previous instruction by the Holy See, that its end is the salvation of the hearers, hence its true scope is "to teach morality, reprove vice, and in a becoming way explain the truths necessary for eternal salvation."

The Constitution of the Jesuits and the Doctrine of St. Thomas.—After a long silence the Catholic reviews are beginning to publish the very important document by which Leo XIII. gives an authentic interpretation of the Constitution of the Jesuit Order as far as it concerns the study of the philosophy and the theology of St. Thomas. (See *Canoniste Contemporain* Sept., Oct., 1898; *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, July, '98.) The document, which is of the date December 30, 1892, was published in the *Acta Leonis XIII*, vol. 12, in 1893. Considering its importance, it is hard to understand how it escaped the notice of our theological reviews, even of those published by the Jesuit Fathers.

Studies in the Seminary of Seville.—Faculties of theology, canon law, and philosophy were recently instituted in the Seminary of Seville. Seven documents bearing on them may be found in the *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, October, 1898. The provincial council of Burgos, held April 24th to May 4th, invited competition for the writing of eleven works, which might serve as manuals in the seminaries and colleges. The time for these compositions extends to June 30, 1901. The successful works will be published by the province and the profits will belong to the authors.

The Seminary of Luxembourg.—By a decree of September 14, 1898, faculties of theology and philosophy were instituted in the Seminary of Luxembourg with the right to confer degrees. (See *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, November, 1898.)

The University of Manila.—We take the following from *The Rosary* of November, '98, regarding the University of Manila:

"The university was founded about two centuries ago and confided to the care of the Dominicans. It is attended about entirely by the natives, Filipinos, as they call themselves. The following account of the studies pursued in the university is taken from the official report of the year:

"The Faculty of Theology and Canon Law has the following courses of lectures: 1. A course of Ontology, Cosmology and Natural Religion-

2. The Controversial Course. 3. Dogmatic Theology. 4. Moral Theology and Sacred Eloquence. 5. Sacred Scripture. 6. Canon Law. 7. Ecclesiastical Procedure and Discipline, as used in Churches in the East. 8. Ecclesiastical History. The eight lecturers in this faculty were Dominicans. There were thirty students.

"Faculty of Jurisprudence: 1. Metaphysics. 2. Spanish Literature. 3. Constitutional History of Spain and Natural Law. 4. Canon Law. 5. Political Economy. 6. Ecclesiastical Discipline. There were six Dominicans and nine other professors teaching in this faculty. The students numbered 405.

"Faculty of Law: In this faculty one Dominican and eleven other professors lectured. There were sixty students.

"Faculty of Medicine: 1. Physics. 2. Chemistry. 3. Mineralogy and Botany. Three Dominican and thirteen other professors lectured in this faculty. There were 277 students.

"Faculty of Pharmacy: There were eighty-nine students. In the schools of practical pharmacy there were 216 students. Three Dominicans, who lectured in Chemistry, Zoology, Mineralogy and Botany, and seven other professors taught in this faculty."¹

Conference of Librarians at St. Gall.—An international conference of librarians was held September 30 and October 1, 1898, at St. Gall, in Switzerland. Its purpose was to examine the dangers which threaten the preservation of old Greek and Latin MSS., and to study the method of protecting them. Father Ehrle, prefect of the Vatican Library, who was the instigator of the conference, published an article recently on the same problem.² In it the author treats the causes of danger not only to the paleimpsest MSS. on which chemicals have been used to bring out the first text, but as well to the others injured by the action of ink used by copyists.

The following resolutions were adopted by the conference:

1. That a list of the old and important MSS. be made which are in danger of being destroyed.
2. That photographs of them be made to determine their actual condition.
3. That a committee be formed whose purpose it will be
(a) To prepare the list indicated. (b) To take care that the photo-

¹ Evidently there are some errors in this report, but we have at hand no other source of information.

² Sur la conservation et la restauration des anciens MSS.; Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 1898, t. XV.

The article was translated into French by M. Dorez in the *Revue des Bibliothèques*, t. VIII, and copied in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, t. LIX.

graphs be made as soon as possible. (c) To study the means of preserving the MSS. and suggest those which seem best. (d) To publish at once methods suggested during the conference. (e) To establish relations with librarians and technical experts in order to facilitate the execution of these resolutions. (f) To seek subsidies from governments to aid the work.

4. That pending the study of the committee (at least till autumn, 1899) only such methods be employed in particular cases as offer the greatest certainty and as will not hinder the adoption of new methods which may later be recommended. *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, September, October, 1898.

French University Publications.—In the *Revue internationale de l'Enseignement*, M. F. Lot gives a view of the periodical publications of the state provincial universities of France. He concludes: "The final impression one gets from this rapid review is that though much has been done in France, there is still much to be done."

The Religious Movement in France.—A striking proof of the religious vitality of France is seen in the Congress of Young Catholics held at Besançon, beginning November 17th. A remarkable feature was Brunetiére's discourse on the "Need of Faith." It was published later in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. About the same time the twenty-fifth general assembly of the Catholics of the Nord and du Pas de Calais took place.

In the same month the National Catholic Congress was held in Paris, on the 27th. Among the papers presented we mention in particular that of M. Senderens, director of the Ecole Supérieure des Sciences in the Institute of Toulouse, on the means of developing the study of the sciences among the younger clergy.

NECROLOGIES (for 1898.)¹

ROSELLY DE LORGUES died in Paris January 3, 1898, at the age of 93. He is best known through his studies on the life of Columbus, written rather from an apologetical than critical point of view. "Christophe Colomb, histoire de sa vie et de ses voyages, d'après les documents authentiques tirés d'Espagne et d'Italie," 2 vols., 1852; "L'ambassadeur de Dieu et le Pape Pie IX," 1 vol. in 8, 1874; "Satan contre Christophe Colomb ou la pretendue chute du serviteur de Dieu," 1876, 1 vol. in 8; Christophe Colomb, serviteur de Dieu son apostolat, sa sainteté," 1884, 1 vol. in 8; "Histoire posthume de Christophe Colomb," 1885, 1 vol. in 8.

GUISSEPPE OTTINO died at Turin January 12. He was an eminent bibliographer. He published a "Manuale di Bibliografia" and the "Bibliotheca bibliographica Italiana." In the latter work he was assisted by Fumagalli.

OLLÉ-LAPRUNE, master of conferences in the Ecole Normale Supérieure at Paris, died February 13. He was a man of deep religious convictions and an eminent philosopher. His chief works are: "Philosophie de Malebranche," 1870, 2 vols in 8; "De la certitude morale," 1880, 1 vol. in 8; "Essai sur la morale d'Aristote," 1881, 1 vol. in 8; "Les sources de la paix intellectuelle," 1892, 1 vol. in 18; "Le prix de la vie," 1894, 1 vol. in 18. He was actively connected with *Le Correspondant* and *La Quinzaine*. Articles on his life and work appeared in *Etudes Religieuses*, October 20, and the *Revue Générale*, April and May.

PIERRE WILLEMS, professor in the University of Louvain, member of the Belgian Academy, died February 23. His best known works are: "Droit public Romain," 1 vol. in 8; "Le Sénat de la république Romaine," 3 vols. in 8. Both are works of the greatest erudition. He published many excellent papers on the organization of higher studies and contributed to the *Bulletin* and to the *Annuaire* of the Belgian Academy many learned notes. He wrote frequently in Flemish and in French in the Belgian reviews.

CHARLES SCHEFER, member of the Institute, head of the School of Oriental Languages and professor of Persian, died at Paris March 4. He published many learned works on the Orient, some of which are contained in the "Publications de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales" and in the "Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie depuis le XIII^e siècle jusqu'à la fin du XV^e siècle."

¹Taken largely from the Polybiblion of 1898.

P. DE HAULLEVILLE died at Brussels April 25. He was formerly director of the *Revue Générale* and of the *Journal de Bruxelles*. He had been a professor in the University of Ghent and in the Military School, and was at the head of the royal museums of decorative and industrial arts. Aside from many contributions to papers and reviews, he is the author of the following works: "Histoire des communes Lombardes," 2 vols., 1859; "Les Institutions représentatives en Autriche," 1 vol., 1863; "Les allemands depuis la guerre de sept ans, 1 vol., 1869; "De l'enseignement primaire en Belgique," 1 vol., 1870; "La définition du droit," 1 vol., 1879; "De l'avenir des peuples catholiques. (Reply to Em. de Laveleye.) An article on him appeared in the *Revue Générale* of June.

ALPHONSE WAUTERS, archivist of Brussels, died May 1. His publications are numerous. The chief of them were: "Histoire civile, politique et monumentale de la ville de Bruxelles," 3 vols. in 8; "Table chronologique des chartes et diplômes imprimés concernant l'histoire de Belgique," 10 vols. in 4. This latter work was criticised with severity by Reusens, of Louvain, in two brochures, published in 1893, under the title "Questions de chronologie et d'histoire."

LUDOVIC LALANE, librarian of the Institute, died May 16, aged 84. His chief work was the "Dictionnaire historique de la France." He published also the "Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de François I," and the works of Malherbe and of Brantôme. An article on him appeared in the September-October number of *La Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE died May 19, aged 89. As statesman, orator, savant, he had led a most active life. In view of the extensive notices which his recent death called forth, we mention only a few of his many works: "The State in its Relation with the Church," 1858; "Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age," 3 vols., 1858; "Juventus Mundi, the Gods and the Men of the Heroic Age," 1 vol., 1869; "The Church of England and Ritualism," 1 vol., 1875; "Rome and the Newest Fashions in Religion;" "The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance," 1874. This last named work was refuted by Newman and Manning; it seems to have been the source of little satisfaction to the author.

FRIEDRICH MULLER, professor of linguistics and of Sanskrit in the University of Vienna, died May 24. A list of his publications extending to the greatest variety of questions of linguistics would be too long for this notice. It may be found in the *Polybiblion* of July, p. 86.

PHILLIP TAMISEY DEL ARROQUE died in May. He was a member of the Institute, a contributor to many scientific periodicals. He was a man of extraordinary versatility, enjoying the friendship of numberless learned men. M. Monod says of him that he was a man of a well-regulated, docile and reasonable piety worthy of a Huet and a Gassendi. His writings are very numerous. Articles may be found on him in *La Revue historique*, July-August; *Le Bulletin Critique*, June 5; *Les Etudes Religieuses*, December 5 and 20, etc.

AUGUSTE BRACHET, the eminent French philologist, died in June. He published a "Grammaire historique de la langue française" and a "Dictionnaire étymologique." The former work passed through forty editions.

JOHN CAIRD died July 13. His personality more than his writings made him remarkable. "He stood forth, the representative figure in a re-orientation of what is still most typical in Scottish life, religion" (*New World*, December, '98.). He published three volumes, one of university addresses, one of university sermons and one containing the "Glasgow Gifford Lectures."

OTTO VON BISMARCK died July 30. During his lifetime collections of his speeches and letters appeared in many languages. His memoirs have just appeared. Whatever the ultimate and lasting fame of this great man, we must admit, as did he implicitly, that his entire political life was inspired by the principle that the end justifies the means.

A. RIVIER, professor in the University of Brussels, died July 21. He was secretary of the Institute of International Law and for a time editor of the *Revue de Droit International*. He published some works on Roman law, the chief of which was "Précis du droit de famille Romain." He is the author of some studies in the history of the law of nations, and he translated, completed and annotated the "Éléments du droit international privé" of Asser.

KARL KNIES, professor of political economy in the University of Heidelberg, died August 2. He was one of the lights of the historical school in Germany. "The Annals of the American Academy," vol. XIII, p. 96, publishes the list of his works. The best known are: "Die politische Oekonomie vom Standpunkte der geschichtlichen Methode," 2 ed., 1883; "Geld und Credit." Knies' place in economics is discussed by Cossa in "Intr. allo studio dell' Economia politica," and by Block in "Progrès de la science économique."

GEORGE EBERS, the eminent Egyptologist and professor in Leipsic University, died August 7. He commenced the publication of his famous

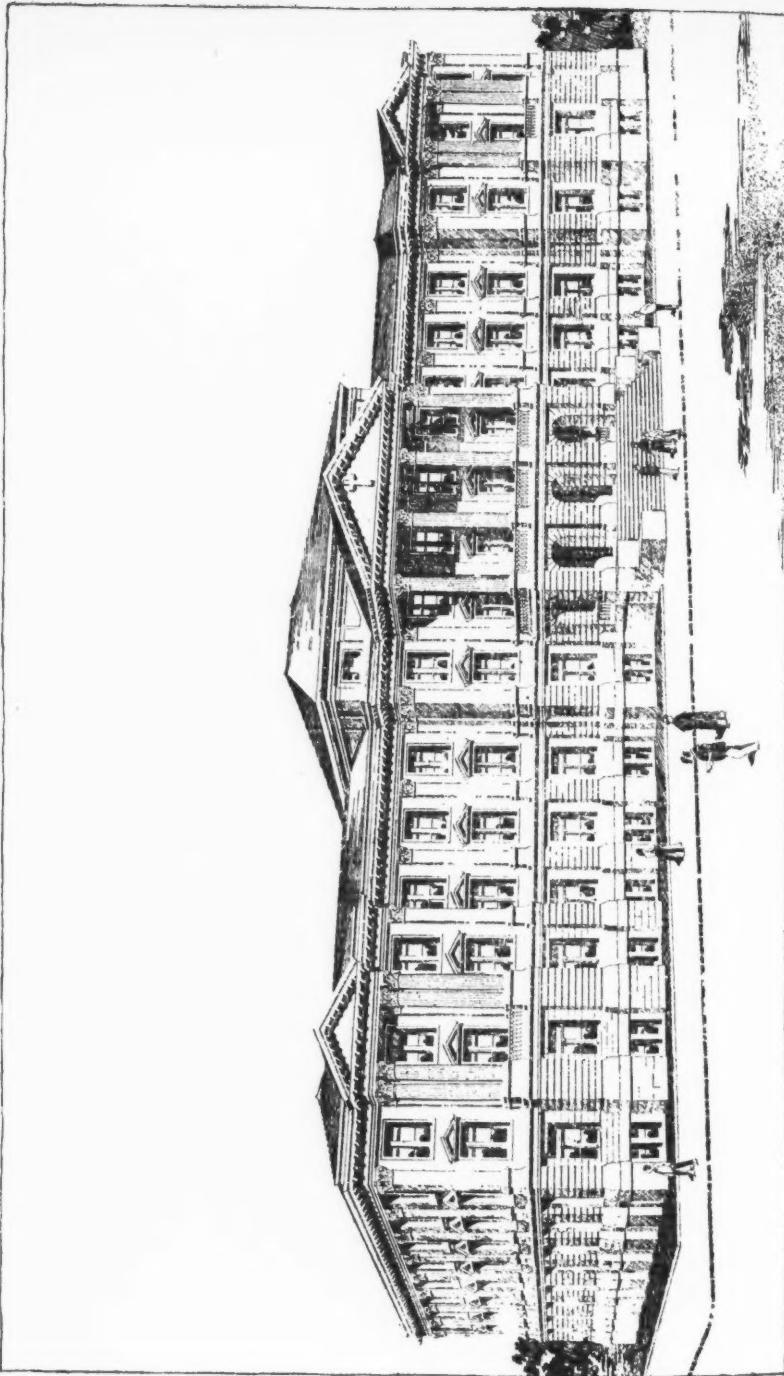
papyrus in 1873. He was a prolific writer. Aside from scientific work, he wrote a number of archaeological romances and others describing the countries where he had lived.

GABRIEL DE MORTILLET, geologist, died September 25. Most of his numerous works are impregnated with a sectarian spirit. The best known of them is "Matériaux pour l'histoire positive et philosophique de l'homme," 1894, in 4.

DAVID AMES WELLS, economist, honorary member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, died November 5. He was at one time professor in the Lawrence Academy, and was also head of the Bureau of Statistics in the Treasury Department. He wrote "Relation of Tariff to Wages," "Recent Economic Changes;" "The Decay of Our Ocean Mercantile Marine: America and Europe." He was born in 1827, and was intimately connected with every movement for civil service reform and free trade. He was a popular educator in the highest sense.

ALPHONSE HUBER, formerly professor in Innsbruck, later in Vienna, died November 23. His history of Austria gave him a prominent place among contemporary historians. A list of his works may be found in the *Polybiblion*.

LUCIEN BRUN, the eminent jurisconsult, senator and professor in the Catholic University of Lyons, died November 29. His best known works are "L'Introduction à l'étude du droit," and "L'enseignement du droit dans les facultés Catholiques." He assisted Cardinal Mermilliod in instituting the Congress of Catholic Jurisconsults, which has held annual congresses since 1876.



THE NEW COLLEGE OF THE HOLY CROSS.

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Last October the Very Rev. Dr. Zahm, Provincial of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, purchased the beautiful tract of land known as Rosemont, adjoining the Catholic University, with the view of erecting on it a college for the use of the advanced ecclesiastical students of his order. Although it was then announced that work on the contemplated building would be commenced at an early date, it will, we think, be a matter of surprise to many of our readers to learn that ground has already been broken, and that Holy Cross College,—such is the name of the new institution,—is to be ready for occupancy early next September.

The plans for the Holy Cross College have been drawn by Mr. A. von Herbulis, whose plans for the Supreme Court building in the National Capital have been accepted by the U. S. Senate. The style of architecture, as will be observed from the accompanying illustration, is almost purely classical, and while embodying some of the most attractive features of such famous and imposing structures as the Lichtenstein Palace in Vienna and the Palazzo Farnese of Rome, it is nevertheless of chaste simplicity and admirably adapted for the purpose for which it is destined. The exterior of the edifice will be of Indiana limestone and Vermont granite, which will be so distributed as to bring out in bold relief the external beauties of the building. The interior arrangements of the college have received particular attention both from Dr. Zahm, who is an old college man, and thoroughly familiar with all the great educational institutions of this country and Europe, and from Mr. von Herbulis, who has made a special study of the sanitary, as well as of the artistic features of modern architecture. The plumbing and ventilation are all that could be desired, and judging from what we have seen of the plans and specifications, Holy Cross College will be second to no institution of learning in the country in the perfection of its appointments.

Notre Dame University, of which Holy Cross College is a branch, is famous for the beauty of its many buildings. Dr. Zahm, in selecting the plans for the new building, doubtless wished to have a structure that would be worthy of the institution with which he has so long been identified. If so, he may flatter himself that he has attained his purpose, and Notre Dame, too, will have every reason to be proud of her youngest daughter in the capital of the nation. From an inspection of the plans, we should say that Holy Cross College in point of architectural

beauty will compare favorably not only with the other educational buildings of our city, but also with any of the many beautiful buildings for which Washington is so celebrated. Situated, as it will be, on the wooded summit of Rosemont, commanding a view of the surrounding country, it will, when viewed from a distance, remind one of some majestic temple on one of the sylvan heights of ancient Attica.

As was announced, when the property on which the new building is to be erected was purchased, Holy Cross College is intended for those members of the Congregation of the Holy Cross who have taken their degrees in the University of Notre Dame, and who come here to complete their theological course, or who are to do post-graduate work in some of the many departments of the Catholic University. Most of the students of the new institution will equip themselves for future work in the various educational institutions conducted by the Congregation of the Holy Cross in the New and in the Old World. Still others will prepare themselves for missionary and cognate work, for which such wide fields have been opened in our recently acquired territories.

Dr. Zahm, as is well known, is an ardent advocate of the higher education of the clergy. His books and contributions to the press are full of the subject, and now that he has been given charge of the province of his order in the United States he is evidently determined to put in execution what he has so long and so strenuously been urging as one of the prime necessities of our age and country. Like the eloquent Bishop Spalding, who has during the past few days been delighting us with his masterly lectures on education, Dr. Zahm is of the opinion that the education of priests should be "the highest education of man, since the ideal of the Christian priest is the most exalted, his vocation the most sublime, his office the most holy, his duties the most spiritual, and his mission, whether we consider its relation to morality, which is the basis of individual and social welfare, or to religion, which is the promise and secret of immortal and God-like life, is the most important and the most sacred which can be assigned to a human being." He insists with the learned prelate of Peoria, that the priest must "possess the best mental culture of his age, that without this he fights with broken weapons, speaks with harsh voice a language men will neither hear nor understand, teaches truths which, having not the freshness and glow of truth, neither kindle the heart nor fire the imagination." With Bishop Spalding, Dr. Zahm declares that "in the face of the modern world that which the Catholic priest most needs, after virtue, is the best cultivation of mind, which issues in comprehensiveness of view, in exactness of perception, in the clear discernment of the relations of truths and of the limitations of scientific knowledge, in fairness and flexibility of thought, in ease and grace

of expression, in candor, in reasonableness; the intellectual culture which brings the mind into form, gives it the control of its faculties, creates the habit of attention and develops firmness of grasp."

In his well-known address before the International Catholic Scientific Congress at Brussels some years ago Dr. Zahm outlined a programme of study for the clergy. Will he now carry it into effect in the college which he has just founded? And will he be able to realize his lofty ideals? His friends say he will, and point to the results achieved by him in building up the splendid school of science at Notre Dame University as an evidence of his earnestness and persistence of purpose in a work to which he is thoroughly devoted.

In connection with Holy Cross College, Dr. Zahm, we are informed, purposes organizing at Notre Dame a special school for candidates for the priesthood who have not the means of educating themselves. Many of the brightest and most promising youths of the country, young men who are eager to devote themselves to the service of God in religion, are often prevented from carrying out their wishes because their parents are unable to defray the heavy expenses incident to the long and arduous courses of study through which they must pass before they can be raised to the dignity of the priesthood. To those deserving youths, Dr. Zahm intends to extend a helping hand, and thus secure for the service of the Church many who would otherwise despair of ever realizing their fond dreams of becoming ministers of the Most High.

Holy Cross College, we have stated, is to be completed early next September, but it will not be formally dedicated until next October, at the annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Catholic University. The archbishops of the country will then likewise have their annual meeting, and the occasion will be an auspicious one for the consecrating to science and religion an institution from which so much is expected. In ecclesiastical circles the event promises to be the most important which has occurred since the solemn opening nine years ago of the Catholic University of America.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE,

The Right Rev. Rector delivered a lecture at Boston, December 18th, under the auspices of the Irish Charitable Society on "Ireland's Influence on the Character of the Nations." He also assisted at the fall meeting in New York of the Association of Preparatory Schools of Pennsylvania and Maryland.

Bequest from Mr. David T. Leahy.—By the will of the late Mr. David T. Leahy, of Brooklyn, the University receives the sum of \$10,000. It is also named as residuary legatee in the case of his son and heir dying without issue. Mr. Leahy was a prominent business man of New York city. The University is profoundly grateful for this mark of his interest and affection.

Bequest by Rev. Patrick Cuddihy.—The venerable pastor of Milford, Mass., left \$1,000 to the University in his will. May he rest in peace! The University is extremely grateful for all such continued proof of the interest taken in its work by the reverend clergy.

Reception by the University Club.—On December 15th, a very brilliant reception was given by the University Club. Assembly Hall was well filled with the friends who came from Brookland and the city. The management deserves great credit for the perfection of all the details.

The Latest Number of Pittonia.—Below we give the contents of the latest number for May-September, 1898, of *Pittonia*, (vol. III, part 19), a botanical periodical issued by our colleague, Professor Greene: New or Noteworthy Violets, Critical Notes on Antennaria, The Genera Polycodium and Batodendron, New Species of Convolvulus, Some Canadian Violets, A Fascicle of New Labiate, New or Noteworthy Species XXIII.

THE LAW SCHOOLS.

The Professional School of Law opened the academic year with twenty-eight students, of whom eight are at present satisfying the requirements of their local bars by spending the period from Easter, 1898, to Easter, 1899, in study in a home office or law school and will return to take their examinations and degrees in June. The introduction of the Harvard Case System into the work of the middle and senior classes in certain subjects, under the supervision of James A. McDonald, Esq.,

an alumnus of the Harvard Law School, has proved eminently successful, and the system will be extended to several other branches in the coming year.

The number of students in the University School of Law has greatly increased. All these students are graduates of law schools and all except two are members of the bar. The nature of the work in which they are engaged will appear from the following list:

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Major Course.</i>
Brainard Avery, LL.M. (Cath. Univ.)	Rutland, Vt.....	Corporations.
John A. Boyd, LL.B. (Georgetown)	Washington, D. C.....	Corporations.
Clarence M. Burne, (Chicago) (Washington)	Washington, D. C.....	Ecclesiastical Law.
Rossa F. Downing, LL.M. (Georgetown) (Columbian)	Washington, D. C.....	Corporations.
William A. Edwards, LL.M. (Georgetown)	Covington, Ga.....	Roman Law.
Jean F. P. des Garennes, LL.M. (Georgetown)	Washington, D. C.....	Corporations.
Charles H. Goddard, LL.B (Chicago)	Hurley, S. Dak	Constitutional Law
Theodor Papezoglon Ion, J. C. L (Paris)	Washington, D. C	International Law.
John L. Love, LL.B. (Cath. Univ.)	Washington, D. C	Constitutional Law.
Lawrence O. Murray, D.C.L. (Cath. Univ.)	Washington, D. C.....	Ecclesiastical Law.
Tazio Okada, LL.B. (Yale)	Tokio, Japan.....	Roman Law.
Walter C. Pierce, LL.B. (Tulane)	New Orleans, La.....	Jurisprudence.
Owen W. Reddy, LL.B. (Cath. Univ.)	Newburyport, Mass.....	Corporations.
George J. Twohy, LL.B. (Cath. Univ.)	Norfolk, Va.....	Corporations.
John G. Williams, LL.M. (National)	Washington, D. C.....	Corporations.

As the faculty have already made arrangements to conduct some of the seminars connected with these University Law Courses at apartments in the immediate vicinity of the Capitol and Congressional Library, the rapid development of this school is confidently expected.

